

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
SUCCESSION

To the COUNTRIES of
JULIERS and BERG. *K.*

Giving an Account

Of the IMPORTANCE of those COUNTRIES, the CLAIMS of the several PRETENDERS, the VIEWS of the MEDIATING POWERS; and, in a Word, whatever else relates to this RICH SUCCESSION.

THE WHOLE
Accompanied with POLITICAL REMARKS, and
TWO TABLES, discovering at one VIEW the
PRETENSIONS of the several CLAIMANTS;

TOGETHER
With a new and exact MAP of the COUNTRIES,
representing their important SITUATION, with
regard to the neighbouring Countries of *France*,
the *United Provinces*, &c.

Quotidie aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur, nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova gentium nomina, extinctis nominibus prioribus, oriuntur.
SENECA.

L O N D O N:

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THE HISTORY

OF THE SUCCESSION

TO THE CROWN OF GREAT BRITAIN

OF THE

OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CROWN
TO THE CROWN OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND THE CROWN OF IRELAND
AND THE CROWN OF SCOTLAND
AND THE CROWN OF WALES
AND THE CROWN OF THE TOWNS
AND THE CROWN OF THE VILLAGES
AND THE CROWN OF THE PARISHES
AND THE CROWN OF THE CHURCHES
AND THE CROWN OF THE HOUSES
AND THE CROWN OF THE FAMILIES
AND THE CROWN OF THE INDIVIDUALS
AND THE CROWN OF THE NATIONS
AND THE CROWN OF THE WORLD



THE HISTORY OF THE SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE CROWN OF IRELAND, AND THE CROWN OF SCOTLAND, AND THE CROWN OF WALES, AND THE CROWN OF THE TOWNS, AND THE CROWN OF THE VILLAGES, AND THE CROWN OF THE PARISHES, AND THE CROWN OF THE CHURCHES, AND THE CROWN OF THE HOUSES, AND THE CROWN OF THE FAMILIES, AND THE CROWN OF THE INDIVIDUALS, AND THE CROWN OF THE NATIONS, AND THE CROWN OF THE WORLD.

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TO HIS GRACE

THOMAS *Duke of* NEWCASTLE,

One of His Majesty's

Principal SECRETARIES of STATE,
©c. ©c.

This *History* of the *Succession* to the
Duchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*, is
most humbly Inscrib'd and Pre-
sented, by

The Author.

TO HIS GRACE

THOMAS DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

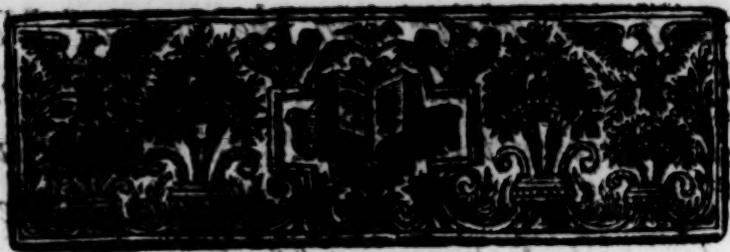
ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S

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THE
PREFACE.

THE important Affair of the Succession to Juliers, Berg and Cleves, made up no inconsiderable Part of the Transactions of the last Century. On the Death of the last Sovereign of those Countries without Issue in 1609, mighty Competitors arose, and supported their respective Pretensions by Arms. The great Powers of Europe, the Emperor, Great-Britain, France, Spain, the United Provinces, and the Catholic and Protestant Leagues of the Empire, acted as Mediators, and

and endeavour'd in the way of Negotiation to make up the Differences, but without Success; an open War ensued, which necessarily interested several of the great Mediators themselves.

In order to give the Reader a full Prospect of the Grounds of the present Contests, and to enable him to form a probable Judgment with relation to the Issue of them, it was absolutely necessary to trace the History from its first Period.

*For the Claims to this SECOND Succession is founded upon the FIRST. And the same Objects are either already risen, or raising up to the View of Europe at this Day. One half of those fine Countries is again on the Point of being without a Master, by the demise of the Elector Palatine without Issue, whose Life hangs by a Tack, and is merely supported by Art and the Skill of Physicians. The former Pretenders, in
the*

the Persons of their Descendants, have reviv'd their Claims to a Share in the eventual Succession; and one of them, a very powerful Prince, has threaten'd to do himself Justice in the way of Arms, if that of Negotiation should prove ineffectual. The same principal Powers, the Emperor, Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces, have again appeared on the Scene, and, in an amicable way, charg'd themselves with the trouble of new-settling the Succession. The Eyes of Europe are looking forward to the Issue of Things, which become more arduous every Day, and hasten on to their Crisis.

The Subject, it must be own'd, is very capable of Embroilments, were we to suppose that any of the Concerting Powers, or any other Power, lov'd to fish in troubled Waters. On this Supposition, this Affair may be productive of the greatest Changes and Events.

It

P R E F A C E.

It is therefore presum'd, the following Sheets will be no unacceptable Present to the Public. The Design of them is to point out the Importance of the Situation of those Countries, which is done by the Map and the short Geographical Description of them; to give a clear and impartial View of the Pretensions of the several Claimants, and, in a Word, whatever else relates to this rich Succession. The whole accompanied with Political Remarks, tending to discover the Particular Views, (so far as may be done with Decency) of the Mediating Powers, and the other Parties concerned.

T H E

UNITED PROVINCES

MUNSTER BISH.

DUTCH BRABANT

AUSTRIAN NETHER LANDS

LIEGE BISHOPRICK

LUXEMBURG

to the EMP.

FRENCH LUXEMBURG

LORRAIN to France

A New and Exact
CLEVES JULI
the Counties of MAR
& the Lordship of R.
likewise their Situ
& Neighbouring Co.
succession of the Ho
by * * *

NB. Cleves Marck & Rave
and Juliers, Berg, & Ravensber

of Duchies of
and BERG,
RAVENSBERG
in discovering
with regard to
Being whole
Cleves & Juliers.

belong to Brandenburg
burg or the El Palatine

To
The Right Honourable
the MARQUIS of GRANBY
this MAP is humbly
dedicated by the Author.

J. Bowen Sculp.



Longitude from London





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
SUCCESSION

To the COUNTRIES of
Fuliers, Berg, Cleves, &c.

Their Ancient State.



THESE fine Countries were anciently Inhabited by the *Menapii, Ubii, Eburones*, and *Sicambri*, People celebrated by *Cesar, Tacitus, Strabo*, and *Pliny*. The Names of Places, the many admirable antique Monuments that have been dug up, and the very Situation of the Countries, prove them to be of the first Antiquity. They lay properly be-

B

twixt

The HISTORY of

twixt *Gallia Belgica* and *Germania*, which occasioned them to be the Scene of many and great Actions. And the same Frontier-situation betwixt *France*, *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*, have rendered them no less famous in the Histories of latter Ages.

The Anti-
quities of
Juliers.

The Name of the Town of *Juliers* sufficiently proves that *Julius Caesar* was the Founder of it. It is plain, from the incomparable Memoirs or Commentaries of that great Man, that these Parts were very much honoured with his Presence. The *Ubi* who Inhabited the Country being vexed with troublesome Neighbours sought his Alliance, and invited him to come to their Assistance. The Town of *Juliers* is expressly mentioned in *Antonin's* Itinerary and *Theodosius's* Tables. *Duren*, the second Town of the Duchy is the *Marcodurum* of the Ancients, and owns the same Founder with *Colonia-Agrippina*, (*Cologn*) so called according to *Tacitus*, because *Agrippina* Daughter to *Germanicus*, and Wife to *Claudius*, would have it honoured with a *Roman* Colony, as being the Place of her Birth. *Nuys*, by *Tacitus* called *Norvesium*, by *Antoninus* *Nivesia*. *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in Latin, *Aquisgranum*, was the Winter Quarters of the *Romans*, call'd in *Tacitus* *Vetera*,

Vetera, and was taken by *Civilis* in the beginning of his Rebellion against *Vespasian*; during which Wars it is often mentioned by the Writers of those Times. The Hot Baths were discovered in the Time of the *Romans*, and *Granus*, Governor of *Gallia Belgica* under the Emperor *Adrian*, beautified them after the Manner of the *Roman* Baths, and built himself a Palace, and Lodgings for his Retinue near them.

Cleves is a very ancient City; its Name is derived from the *Latin* Words *Clivis* or *Clivia* †, expressive of its Site on the declivity of a Hill. It began with a Castle or Fort, as many Cities have done, built by *Julius Caesar*, as a Bulwark against the *Germans* Inhabiting the other side of the *Rhine*: And indeed a more convenient Situation is not to be found in all those Parts. The Inscription on the Wall of the Palace or Castle runs thus, *Anno urbe Romana condita, sexcentesimo nonagesimo octavo C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator bisce partibus subactis hanc arcem fundavit*, that is, in the Year 698,

† The Panegyric Oration of *Eumenius Rhetor*, which he made in his native Country of *Cleves*, in the Reigns of *Dioclesian* and *Maximilian*, before the President or Prætor of *Gaul*. *Lippius* seems to question whether the Rhetorician was ever here. But the Words of the Oration are too express to leave any room for Doubt.

The HISTORY of

after the City of *Rome* was built, *Julius Caesar* having subdued those Parts, caused the Castle of *Cleves* to be built. This is confirmed by another Inscription over the middle Gate where the Statue of *Eumenius Rhetor* stands, who taught Oratory here. That Inscription says, that he lived here in the Time of *Julius Caesar*, who Founded the Castle; of *Augustus*, who Garrison'd it; of *Ulpius Trojanus*, who made it a Colony; and of *Ælius Adrianus*, who made it a City. And indeed the many old Foundations that have been dug up, and other Monuments of Antiquity, do abundantly testify that the *Romans* had very considerable Settlements* here. About a Mile out of Town there is the noblest Collection of old *Roman Urns*, and other antique Monuments, that is any where to be met with out of *Italy*. Prince *Maurice*, of the Family of *Nassau*, a Person of a great and excellent Genius, made this admirable Collection. He was Governor General of these Countries, under the Elector of *Brandenburg*. *Zanten*, another Town of this Dutchy, was the *Vetera Castra* of

* The learned *Pighius*, in *Hercule suo*, &c. proves by many Arguments, that it was a noted Roman Colony, and so large a City as to take in *Kellen*, a Village now above half a Mile from *Cleves*.

Tacitus,

Tacitus, where *Julius Caesar* resided for some Time.

From this short Account of the ancient Geography of these Countries, and of the Inhabitants, it is apparent how famous both were formerly, and how much they were valued by the *Romans*. In Process of Time, on the Demolition of the *Roman Empire*, they underwent the same mighty Changes with most other Countries; they were over-run and seiz'd upon, sometimes by one barbarous People and sometimes by another, till the eighth Century, when the Empire began to form itself into some Order, and new States were erecting on the Ruins of the *Roman Monarchy*. It was about the middle of that Age that we find the Names, and almost every Thing else of these Countries changed. *Meroue* King of *France*, had drove the *Romans* from hence in the Reign of *Valentinian III.* about the middle of the fifth Century. A few Year after, that terrible Hero *Attila* the *Hun*, visited these Parts and laid them waste. After his departure, the *Romans* once more lifted up their Heads, and made vigorous Struggles to maintain their Conquests; not knowing there was no resisting *Destiny*, and that the Period of their Empire was approaching. The *Goths*

Their State, after the Declension of the *Roman Empire*.

and other German and Northern People, enter *Italy* in their Turn, overthrow the Thrones of the *Cæsars*, and wrest the *Provinces* out of their Hands, with as good a right as they had to seize them; and *Rome* herself became Part of the *Gothick* Kingdom. Thus the *Roman* Lieutenants and their Legions, were forced either to evacuate the conquer'd Countries, or to submit to the new Conquerors, and incorporate with the new People.

The *Franks*, who a long time before had left *Germany* and settled in *Gaul*, form'd themselves into a regular Government under one Head or King. This wise Conduct gave them great Advantages; they began to despise the *Romans*, and to enlarge their Territories with the reduction of a great Part of *Belgium*, and these Districts or Cantons, whose History we are now upon. When the Empire was wholly evacuated by the *Romans*, it was divided into a great many petty Governments, which made it easier for the *Franks*, under the Kings of the *Merovingian* Line, to reduce several of them; and at last *Charlemagne*, Son of *Pepin*, King of *France*, reduced all *Germany*.

This

This mighty Prince, whose Reign forms one of the most remarkable Epochs in the History of these Western Parts of the World, was crown'd Emperor by Pope *Leo III.* on *Christmas Day, A. C. 800.* He had the Title of *Great*, both on Account of his Valour and Piety. He was at the same Time Master of *Germany, France, Italy*, and Part of *Spain*. Of all those vast Dominions, *Juliers* was the Spot he took most delight in; he therefore made it the chief Seat of his Empire: most of the Provinces he committed to the Care of Governors or Lieutenants, called *Marc-Graves*, who afterwards taking Advantage of weak Emperors, *Interregnums*, and intestine Broils, got their Offices made Hereditary. This is the Origin of the many small Sovereignities and States, into which *Germany* is parcell'd out at this Day.

There are however a few Principalities of an older Date than *Charles the Great's* Reign: That of *Cleves* was erected into an independent Sovereignty about 100 Years before; some say 200. But it must be own'd there is little certainty of these Things, for from the Time of the Declension of the *Roman Empire*, till within these two or three hundred Years, a long Night of Darkness and Ignorance

overspread Europe, so that we should never have forgiven those same *Goths*, for extinguishing *Roman Learning*, had they not introduced some Things far more valuable in its stead *. In fact, we know the State of several Countries in *Europe*, better as it stood 1700 than 700 Years ago; from the 5th to the 15th Century, the space of 1000 Years, (a whole *Mil-linium* of Darknes! if one may so term it) there was few or no good Writers.

Origin of
the House
of *Juliers*.

We have nothing very particular with regard to *Juliers* †, a Country so famous in the Time of the *Romans*, till the beginning of the 12th Century, and even after that, little more than the Names of the Sovereigns thereof, are handed down to us. We find that it was then in the Possession of *Godfrey of Bouillon*, Duke or King of *Lorain*; and made an

* In all those Parts where that brave People and others their Country-men came and settled, they established mild and limited Governments on the Ruins of *Roman Tyranny*. 'Tis to them *Great-Britain* at this Day owes her being governed by King and *Parliaments*; an incomparable System, in which also most other Nations of *Europe*, as the *French*, the *Spaniards*, the *Danes*, &c. were at first as happy as *Britains*.

† *Teschemaker*, *Annales Clivæ, Julæ, Montis, &c.* in fol. *Arnhemii* 1645. & *Francofurti* 1721, ex Edit. *Duckeri*. This is the best writ Book on these Countries. *Duckers's* Genealogical Tables are exact, but very prolix. He did ill to leave out the Maps which are correct, and with which the first Edition is adorned.

Earldom

G E N E A L O G

Of the Families of JULIERS, B
which last the other Three c

A. C.

JULIERS.

About 1130.

EUSTACE, first Earl of *Juliers*.

JOHN, his Son.

WILLIAM, married *Sybilla*, by
whom he had

GHERARD, Earl of

WILLIAM II. his Son

GHERARD II. his Son

WILLIAM III. eldest Son of
Gherard.

GHERARD III. his Son.

GHERARD IV.

1325. WILLIAM IV. made first Mar-
quis, and after Duke of *Ju-
liers*.WILLIAM V. Duke of *Juliers*
and *Guelderland*.RAYNOLD, Duke of *Juliers*
and *Guelderland*.

ADOLPHUS III. Du

GHERARD, Brother

WILLIAM, Son of C

1511. MARY, Daughter
Dutchess of *Juli*
the whole Estate in1521. JOHN III. Duke o
Marck. His Da
John Frederic, El1539. WILLIAM, his Son.
maintained himself
Possession of *Gu*
mighty Emperor
was forc'd to yie
beg *Charles's* Par
Brother of *Anne*
Wives of *Henry V*
He married *Mary*
Ferdinand I. and
He was succeeded1584. JOHN WILLIAM, t
He was a Prince o
first he was Bishop
Life of *Charles Fr*
on whose Death,
Ecclesiastick Dign
Issue in 1609. lea

T A B. I.

A

LOGICAL TABLE

S, B E R G, M A R C K, and C L E V E S, into
three came to be United, *Anno* 1511.

B E R G.

iers. EBERARD, first Earl of *Berg*.
ADOLPHUS, his Son.
by SYBILLA, Sister and Heir of *Adolphus*,
married to *William* of *Juliers*.

Earl of *Juliers* and *Berg*.

his Son.

his Son.

of ADOLPHUS II. younger Son of *Gherard*.

WILLIAM III. his Son.

GHERARD III. his Son.

Mar- WILLIAM IV. made the first Duke
Ju- of *Berg*, was succeeded by his re-
bellious Son *Adolphus*, who, as
next of Kin, succeeded *Raynold*
of *Juliers*, who died without Is-
sue.

M A R C K.

II. Duke of *Berg* and *Juliers*.

Brother of *Adolphus*.

Son of *Gherard*.

Daughter and Heir of *William*,
of *Juliers* and *Berg*, convey'd
Estate in Marriage, to

Duke of *Cleves*, and Earl of
His Daughter, *Sybilla*, married
Eric, Elector of *Saxony*.

his Son. He was a great Prince,
and himself a long Time in the
of *Guelderland*, against that
Emperor *Charles V.* but at last
to yield that Province, and to
his Pardon in *Venlo*. He was
of *Anne* of *Cleves*, one of the
Henry VIII. King of *England*.
and *Mary*, Daughter to Emperor
I. and Niece to *Charles V.*
succeeded by his Son

AM, the last of the Family.
Prince of excellent Qualities. At
his Bishop of *Munster*, during the
Charles Frederic his elder Brother;
Death, in 1575. he resigned his
Rank Dignity. He died without
Issue, leaving four Sisters.

This Family began in
Robert, a younger Son
of *Cleves*, about *Anno*
840. From *Engelberg*
II. by a second Wife,
Daughter and Heir of
Arensberg, descended the
Sovereigns of *Sedan* and
Bouillon, both whom is-
suing in *Nevers*, this
Family claimed the
County of *Marck*, on
the Death of the un-
dermention'd *John Wil-*
liam, Duke of *Cleves*,
one of whose Ancestors
had succeeded to the
said County.

7

Earldom in the Person of *Eustace*, his Brother, who had it after the said *Godfrey's* Death in the *Holy-Land*. It was erected into a Marquisate by Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, in 1329, and after into a Dukedom by *Charles IV.* in 1356, in favour of *William IV.* His two Sons *William* and *Raynold*, both Dukes successively, dying without Issue, the Estate fell to *Adolph*, Duke of *Berg*, as the next Heir Male, *Anno.* 1423; and lastly, both *Juliers* and *Berg* devolv'd to the House of *Cleves*, in Virtue of the Marriage of *Mary*, Heirefs of the two Dutchies, with *John III.* Duke of *Cleves*; in whose House the whole Estates remain'd united, till it likeways came to its Period in 1609.

The Sovereigns of *Berg* and *Marck*, derive their Origin from the House of *Cleves*, into which in time, they came again to be United. They came from *Robert*, a younger Son of *Baldwin* Earl of *Cleves*, about the Year 800: But the Descent of these Families, and how they were United in the Person of the just mentioned *John III.* Duke of *Cleves*, Grandfather to *John William*, the last of this noble House, will much better appear by the Genealogy here annexed.

With

and
Cleves.

With relation to the House of * *Cleves*, whence the other Families issued, and whither they at last return'd, it may not be improper to remark, That about the Year 700, a certain Lady call'd *Beatrix* brought the Estate of *Cleves* in Marriage to *Elias Grallius*, Companion to *Charles Martel*, Predecessor to *Pepin* King of *France*, in his Wars against the *Frisons*, *Saxons* and *Bavarians*. Some Historians say It was given *Grallius* by King *Pepin* about 759. His Son *Theodoric* Earl of *Cleves* annex'd to it by Marriage the Heritage of *Teisterbant* (containing the Lordship of *Altena* in *Westphalia*, the Towns of *Bomel*, *Heusden*, *Buren* and *Culemburg*, in the *Low-Countries*.) *Conon* Grandson to *Theodoric*, was one of *Charles the Great's* Generals, and acquired a great Fame in the Wars. *John*, *Conon's* Son, married the Daughter of *Michael* Emperor of *Constantinople*. From *Baldwin's* Son *Robert*, as hath been observed, are descended the Lines of *Berg*, *Altena* and *Marck*; of this last *Adolph IV.* was created the first Earl about the Year 1240. *Adolph VII.* of *Marck* (Son of *Adolph VI.* who married *Mary* of *Cleves*, Daughter and Heir of *Theodoric IX.* of

* *Egbert*, *Genealog.* der Grafen und Hertzoge zu Cleve. Cleve 1655.

Cleves)

Cleves) was Archbishop of *Cologne*, as several of his Family had been before; he succeeded on the Death of his Uncle *John* (the last of the Masculine Issue of *Elias Grallius*.) *Adolph II.* of *Cleves* and *VIII.* of *Marck*, was created Duke of *Cleves* by Emperor *Sigismund* at the Council of *Constance*, *An.* 1417. *John III.* his Son, annex'd the Lordship of *Ravenstein* to his Dominions. *John III.* of the Rank of Dukes in 1511, married the Heiress of *Juliers* and *Berg*, as hath been above observed. Thus in his Person were united the Dutchies of *Cleves*, *Juliers* and *Berg*, the Counties of *Marck* and *Ravensberg*, and the Lordship of *Ravenstein*.



The



*The First SUCCESSION of the
Year 1609.*

AFTER this very ancient and illustrious House of *Cleves* had flourished in a direct Line for 900 Years, and match'd to the greatest Princes of *Europe*, it at last came to its Period, as hath been hinted, in the Person of *John William*, Prince of *Juliers, Cleves, Berg, Marck, Ravensburg*, and *Ravenstein*, who died without Issue on the 25th Day of *March* 1609, by which Means those rich Countries were scattered among Strangers. He had four Sisters.

The Claimants.
Brandenburg.

The Eldest, *Mary Leonora*, was married to the Duke of *Prussia*, to whom she bore only one Daughter, married to the Elector of *Brandenburg*: For which Reason the Elector claim'd the whole Succession as indivisible, in virtue of his Wife's Mother; pleading that she being the eldest Sister, was next and sole Heir to the deceased Duke. †

† *Theatrum Pretentionum illustrium, Schweder in fol. Leipfic 1712. f. & Limnæus in lib. V. de jure publico Imperii Romano Germanici: Where every ones Pretentions are set down at large.*

The

The second *Magdalene* was married to the Duke of *Neuburg*, who also pretended to the whole *Succession*, because the eldest had died before her Brother, and his Wife was the eldest of the surviving Sisters.

The Duke of *Deux-Ponts* and the Marquis of *Burgau* marrying the other two Sisters, insisted that the whole Estates should be equally divided among all the four Sisters.

And as if there were not Pretenders enough already, the Elector of *Saxony* revived an old Claim founded on *John Frederic's* Marriage to * *Sybilla* Daughter of *John III.* Duke of *Cleves*, Grand-father to the last Duke, *An. 1535*; on which Occasion *it was said* to have been agreed upon by the Houses of *Saxony* and *Cleves*, that in case the latter should fail for want of Issue Male, the former should succeed to their Dominions. This *Pactum* or

* This Lady was in high Favour with the Emperor *Charles V.* from whom she obtain'd the Life of her Husband the Elector, who had been worsted and taken Prisoner as he was fighting for the Protestant Religion and Liberties of *Germany* against *Charles*. *Thuanus*, extols him for his Magnanimity, and other princely Virtues. His Electress with her Children came to the Camp, threw herself at the Feet of the Imperial Conqueror, and besought him with a Flood of Tears, to set her Husband at Liberty; but was only told that the Elector's Life, which had been forfeited was granted him, out of regard to her.

Agreement

Agreement hath more than once been confirm'd, and perhaps as often revers'd by Imperial Authority.

*Nevers
and Mau-
levrier.*

The Duke of *Nevers*, who was in *France*, in virtue of an old Alliance, and because he carried the Name and Arms of *Cleves*, laid claim to that Duchy: And the Count of *Maulevrier* for the same Reason demanded the County of *Marck*; as also the Dutchy of *Bouillon* and the Lordship of *Sedan*, which were held by the Viscount of *Turenne* Marshal *de Bouillon*, both which were once united to *Marck*. But the Pursuits of *Nevers* and *Maulevrier* were not very hot; they were made to understand, that the particular Fiefs they demanded were united, and could not be dismembred.

The Em-
peror.

Finally the Emperor stood forth, and maintained that all the Pretentions of those Claimants were without Foundation, and that these Estates being Fiefs Masculine, could not fall to Daughters, but were escheated to him. He afterwards softened this, and said that they should be only sequestred into his Hands, till he should decide to whom they did of right belong, and that he did this merely to prevent a War that might be occasion'd, on this Score. But *Puffendorf* and other good Writers say, that the Emperor had a Mind to an-

nex

nex them to his own House : And indeed by the vigorous Measures he took on this Occasion, he plainly enough discovered, that the general Suspicion was well founded ; for scarce had the Breath left the Body of the late Duke of *Cleves*, when he sent an Army to take Possession of the Countries.

As this Affair and the precipitate Step the Emperor took in it, either alarmed or nearly interested most of the Powers of *Europe*, it will be necessary, before I carry my Reader into the Field, first to lay before him the general Situation of Affairs, and how the Princes, both in and out of the Empire, stood affected to the three principal Claimants, the Emperor, *Brandenburg*, and *Neuburg* ; the rest having had small regard shewn to their Pretensions, so that they made very little Stir.

The State
of *Europe*
at this
Time.

The Empire had for several Years past enjoy'd a profound Tranquillity. The Wars on the Score of Religion were come to a Period. But the Heats and Animosities between the Roman Catholics and Protestants were still so flagrant, that both Parties thought it necessary to strengthen themselves by forming new Leagues. In this very Year 1609 the *Protestants* made one, which they call'd the *Union*, of which *Frederic V. Elector Palatine*, was made

With re-
gard to
the Em-
pire.

made Chief. This Honour was done him, partly on account of his Power, but chiefly in regard to his Father-in-Law King *James I. of Great Britain*, whom they thought thereby effectually to engage in their Interest. Besides, the Elector was *Calvinist*, a Part of the Reformed World, to which the Monarch in his Writings leaned to, in Preference to the *Lutheran*: of this last the Elector of *Saxony* was; besides he was not to be depended on: The *Catholicks*, to counterballance this League, enter into one among themselves at *Wurtzburg*, of which the Elector of *Bavaria* was Chief. It does not appear that either of the two Parties leagu'd thus with Design to fight, on account of the Affair of *Fuliers* or any other, but merely to secure the present Tranquillity; and to provide against future Contingencies.

The Emperor.

Emperor *Rodolph II.* tho' at this time, he had some Skirmishes with the *Turks*, yet he thought he might easily enough compass his Ends with regard to *Fuliers*; too much presuming on his Imperial Authority, he did not expect to be thwarted by the two Princes, or that their Claim would be supported by such powerful Friends. In all Events he reckon'd on the Assistance of the *Spaniard* on the side

fide of *Flanders*, and very probably on that of the *Catholic League* of the Empire, in both which nevertheless he found himself mistaken †.

Spain had just concluded a Truce of *Spain*. twelve Years with the *Dutch*, after she had exhausted infinite Treasure and Blood to reduce that People, but all to no Purpose, for she saw herself farther now from compassing that great Work than ever. It is therefore reasonable to believe that this Breathing-time was very seasonable, and that she would not have her present Tranquillity interrupted if there was any means of avoiding it. — Add to this, Archduke *Albert*, Governor, or rather Sovereign of *Flanders*, under the King of *Spain*, was a mild Prince, and great lover of his People. It was therefore agreed upon at both the Courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels*, not to meddle in the Affair of *Juliers*, but to remain Neu-

† In fact, the Emperor could not *reasonably* expect to be countenanced in this his Claim, by any one Prince of the Empire. They could not but think with themselves that the Case of the late Duke of *Cleves* might soon be their own. If they should not be so lucky to leave Sons behind them, all their Daughters would be Beggars, and more compleatly miserable than those of their meanest Vassals. In Time, after this rate, all *Germany* might fall to one House, viz. that of *Austria*; an Event which would affect every Power of *Europe*.

C

ter,

ter, provided the *Dutch* did the same. But if they began to stir and intermeddle under whatsoever Pretext, in that Case they could not sit still, and suffer that People to make Conquests in their Neighbourhood, which in the end might endanger the security of *Flanders*.

The united Provinces.

The like pacific Disposition, accompanied with a like Jealousy toward the *Spaniard*, prevail'd in the *Dutch* Councils. That brave People, after a glorious Struggle or War almost without Interruption for the space of forty Years against the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, readily agreed to the foresaid Treaty, in which their Religion and Liberty being solemnly confirmed to them, they had now nothing else to desire or covet but Rest and Peace. But they dreaded *Spinola*, who was at the Head of the Armies of *Spain*, and for a Soldier, had but too great a Sway in her Councils. On the other Hand, the warlike Disposition of *Maurice*, afterwards Prince of *Orange*, General of the *Dutch* Army, gave no less uneasiness to the *Spaniard*. Thus two Ministers or Servants, and not the *Principals*, who were passionately for Peace, as it frequently happens, gave mutual Umbrage, and foretoken'd the Breach of the public Tranquillity.

Henry

Henry IV. of France, who was by far *France.* the greatest Prince of his Time, after he had subdued his Domestick Foes, and triumph'd over the *League*, might have sat down, and enjoy'd the Fruits of his Wisdom and his Sword, but his martial Temper and a great * Project he had conceiv'd, (and which the Affair of *Cleves* furnish'd him with a fair Opportunity to begin,) though he had liv'd much longer, 'tis probable would not have suffered him. However, he liv'd long enough to shew he understood the true Interest of his Kingdom, and to redress the Affairs of two oppress'd Princes, by sending them

* This Project was one of the greatest that could enter into the Heart of Man. The Duke *de Sully*, *Henry's* Treasurer and great Confident, gives us the Plan in his *Memoirs*. It was in short this, all Christendom was to be perfectly united, so as to make up one Body, called the *Christian Commonwealth*, for which Effect it was to be divided into fifteen Dominions or Estates, whose Limits by universal Consent were to be so specify'd as that none could pass beyond them. These fifteen Sovereignities were the Empire of *Germany*, the *Papacy*, *France*, *Spain*, *Great Britain*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Savoy*, or the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, *Venice*, the *Italian Commonwealth*, compos'd of the little Princes and Cities of *Italy*, the *Low Countries* and the *Swiss*. To compose the Differences which might arise between the Confederates, there should be a *General Council* of sixty Persons, four on the Part of every Dominion, establish'd in some City in the midst of *Europe*, as *Mentz*, *Cologne*, or *Nancy*. This Council or Senate was to make an Order or Regulation to hinder on one side the Oppression and Tyranny of Princes, and on the other, the Tumults and Rebelions of Subjects, &c.

timely Succour. *Henry* was the only Prince whose Interest as well as Inclination would have render'd active in the Affair of *Fuliers*. For as the Houses of *Austria* and *Spain* for a long time past had been, and still were reckon'd as *One*, and prov'd on all Occasions too strong for *France*; it was plainly the business of *France* to observe all the Motions, and prevent the Increase of that formidable House by the acquisition of more Territory *.

Great-
Britain.

At this Time *Great Britain* was governed by a Prince, who was called the *Pacific*; he was likewise stiled, and he lov'd to be stiled, *the Defender of the Faith*. To this last Title his Quill gave him an undoubted Right, for that was the only Arm he made use of in the Cause; holding perhaps that any other Method or Instrument was repugnant to the

* The *Spanish* Power, which was little and inconsiderable in its beginning, grew to an immense height under *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, by the Discovery of a new World in the *West Indies*; the Union of the *seventeen Provinces* with *Spain*, by Marriage; and the Accession of the *Imperial Dignity*, which brought with it all the Power of *Germany*. The *Gallic* or *French* Power on the contrary, was illustrious in its Origin, but began to decay, as that of the *Spaniards* rose. Empires as well as Men have their Birth, their Growth, their Decay, their Recovery, and at last their final Dissolution. Divine Providence sets them their Bounds, which no human Strength nor Wisdom can pass.

Spirit

Spirit of Christianity, and that That alone might do the Business. He had just done with *Belarmine* and others of his Communion; and was beginning with that famous *Leyden* Professor *Arminius*, who died this Year, and with his Successor *Vorstius*, who for his *Socinian* Principles, had rendered himself yet more obnoxious to the King than the other. Thus having his Hands full, he had very little Leisure to attend other Things. However, the Emperor's Usurpation was so shocking to him, that he openly declar'd for the two outed Princes, promised to send them Ambassadors, and, what was a much greater Rarity from him, Assistance.

Thus stood affected the several Powers with regard to the *Succession*, and as there was nothing of greater Moment going on amongst them, they lent great Attention, uncertain what Turn things would take.

Whilst they were in this waiting Posture, the Emperor all of a sudden causes an Army to march into *Juliers*, under Archduke *Leopold*, in order to possess himself of the whole *Succession*.

The Emperor seizes upon the Succession.

He began with the strong Town of *Juliers*, which he invested, and with no great difficulty took. The other Fortresses,

treffes, seeing no Prospect of Relief from any Quarter, one after another, fell into the hands of the Conqueror, who in two Months time saw himself Master of almost the whole *Succession*.

The Emperor to colour this Action gave out, as hath been before hinted, that he did it only to prevent a War that might arise among the several Pretenders; and with the *Roman Catholic* Princes in particular he made as if he was loth that such fine Countries should fall into the Hands of two Heretics. But this did not pass even with them, who to a Man disapprov'd of the Action. And the Foreign Powers, *France, Great Britain*, and the *United Provinces*, warmly protested against the Usurpation, and vow'd to withstand it with their utmost Force.

There had happened but lately two or three Instances of the like bad Nature on the Part of the Emperors against this Family of *Cleves*, the remembrance whereof might not a little heighten the Jealousies and Disgusts of the Princes of the Empire and others on this Occasion. In 1488, *Maximilian*, Sovereign of *Flanders*, having violated the Laws of that Free Country, by levying of Money, and introducing and quartering foreign Troops upon

upon the People, the *States* thought it was incumbent on them to call him to account, which was done by summoning him to appear before them, seizing his Person, and hanging ten of his evil Counsellors. The Matter was amicably made up by Treaty, chiefly by means of *Maximilian's* Nephew *Philip* Duke of *Cleves*, who it would appear had great Sway with the *States*. They oblige the Duke to accompany *Maximilian* to his Troops, (which his Father Emperor *Ferdinand* III. had sent to the Frontiers in a hostile Manner) before which he was to confirm the Treaty by express Words, and which he did thus, "Nephew of *Cleves*, I repeat and confirm to you what I have before promised, and which I intend to preserve inviolably on my Part." Nevertheless, he soon broke through those Vows, made War upon the *States*, and in order either to strengthen himself or palliate his Breach of Faith, both he and the Emperor endeavoured to engage the Duke on their side. But he generously excus'd himself upon the Oath which by express Orders from *Maximilian* he had taken to the States of *Flanders*; and therefore declared that neither Promises nor Threats should avail to induce him to contract both Guilt and

C 4

Infamy

Infamy by evading what he had sworn, and betraying the Confidence that had been put in him. Upon which the Emperor, enrag'd that a Prince of the Empire should refuse to obey him, determin'd to make a public Example of the Duke; and in order to give the greater Eclat to this Act of Power or rather Violence, being then at *Antwerp*, he caused his Throne to be erected in a public Place in the City, from whence having all his Imperial Ornaments on, he pronounced the Duke a Traitor and an Outlaw, and moreover confiscated all his Goods and Dominions.

Another Instance of ill Usage was in the Affair of *Guelderland*. Through the inveterate Hatred of the House of *Burgundy* to *Charles* of *Egmont* Duke of *Guelders*; this Prince after he had bravely defended his Country against *Maximilian*, was at last obliged to seek the Protection of *Francis* I. against *Charles* V. whom he could no longer withstand. This just resource being founded upon Necessity, the Emperor made a handle of, and spread a Report, that the Duke had a mind to give up his Duchy to the *French*; upon which the People revolted, and drove their Sovereign out of his Country, so that he died in Exile without

without Issue. The Duchy devolv'd to his Cousin the Duke of *Cleves* as next Heir, who accordingly took Possession of it. But the Emperor, because this was done without his Confirmation, laid claim to it himself, proscrib'd the Duke, and not only so, but left the Coast of *Afric* in full speed to chastise him. Full of dreadful Expectations, the Duke begs the Assistance of *France* *. The Emperor, with *Spanish* Troops, marches directly to *Duren*, a strong Town in the Country of *Juliers*, and summons it to Surrender. The Garrison answered in the Negative, adding that they were in no danger from one who had been the Food of Fish, believing that the Report had been true which was given out, that *Charles* had been drowned in his Voyage from *Algiers* to *Spain*; but he soon took the Town by Storm, burnt it, and put the Garrison to the Sword. Terrified by this dreadful Example, the other strong Holds of the Country throw open their Gates. Then *Charles* falls into the Duchy

* The King of *France* offered to make an Affinity with the Duke, by giving him in Marriage his own Niece, Daughter of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, in hopes by that Alliance to engage a considerable Prince in his Interest, whose Dominions lie contiguous to *Flanders*, and intermix with those of the Emperor. *Thuari Hist. sui Temporis*, Lib. 1. §. 5.

of *Guelders*, and makes himself Master of it. The Neighbouring Princes, offended at this Precedure, appear in favour of the Duke, but could procure his Pardon on no other Terms but these hard ones; that he should for ever renounce * the Duchy of *Guelders* and County of *Zutphen*, and resign them to the Emperor, and assist him in reducing all the Towns there that should refuse to submit to him; that he should not embrace the *Protestant* Religion, or suffer any Innovations in his Dominions; that he should renounce affinity with *France*, though he had been affianced to the Niece of that Monarch; and in fine, (which was very hard for a great Soul and a Sovereign Prince to submit to) that he should beg the Emperor's Pardon in the most abject Posture publicly in *Venlo*, a City in his own Duchy of *Guelders*, on the Borders of *Cleves*.

The two
Princes
make a
temporary
Agree-
ment.

These recent Instances of the Emperors, their coveting this fat Morfel, made *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg* not long on deliberating what they had to do, especially as they saw their Cause espoused by such powerful Princes. But first of all by advise of those Princes who acted as common Friends, they made a temporary

* Thuani Hist. sui Temporis Lib. 1. §. 5.

Agreement

Agreement between themselves, by which they were to possess equally the Countries, till a final Partition cou'd be made of them.

At the same time the *Protestant* Princes of the Empire met at *Hall*, in order to deliberate on the Affair of *Juliers*. The *Sieur de Boassise*, Ambassador from the King of *France*, assisted at their Consultations, and promised in his Master's Name the assistance of 8000 Foot and 2000 Horse. (Upon this occasion an Ambassador from the *Defender of the Faith* would have been very *a propos*, and made a grand figure in this *Protestant* Assembly of Princes.) It was here unanimously resolved to support the Claim of the two Princes against Archduke *Leopold*. The Emperor to counterballance this Confederacy, called a sort of *Diet* at *Wurzburg*, where it was likewise resolv'd to maintain the Archduke in his Acquisitions. But so long as the King of *Spain* and Archduke *Albert* remained Neuter, there was no comparison between the Strength of the two Parties. *France* cast the Ballance.

Leopold did not long keep Possession of his new Conquests. The *States General* send an Army under Prince *Maurice*, who with the Assistance of some of the

Their Al-
lies dispo-
sels the
Emperor.

the neighbouring Princes, but especially with a body of Troops from *France* under the Marshal *de la Castre*, consisting of (more than was promised) 12000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, sits down before *Juli-ers*, which was soon surrender'd to them on the Second day of *September*, and delivered into the hands of the two Princes, together with all the other Places of the Country, which did not offer to make any Resistance. Some Historians of the Time say, that *Great Britain* likewise lent her Assistance on this Occasion, but they do not specify the number of the Troops, the Commanders, &c. Thus was Archduke *Leopold*, faith *Ben-tivoglio*, drove out of the Country, and shamefully sent back to *Vienna* whence he came. The Courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels* were highly pleas'd with the Moderation of the *Dutch*, who had made no Advantages by their Conquests, but had on the contrary, together with the rest of the Foreign Auxiliaries, evacuated the Country, and left the two Princes in full Possession of it.

A Con-
gress held.

Though Matters had been carried thus far by force of Arms, yet were not the two Parties, nor their Allies averse to an Accommodation. So the City of *Cologne* was nominated for the Place of Conference.

ference. Several Princes and Ambassadors came thither on both sides ; but the Article of Sequestration being again moved on the Part of the Emperor, it was absolutely disagreed to by almost the whole Assembly ; so they broke up without concluding any thing.

Thus stood Matters at the close of 1609, the year in which the last Duke of these Countries died, by which it appears there was a great deal done in a very little time.

About the beginning of the year following, the Emperor seeing himself thus baffled, and unable to support his (pretended) Right to those Countries, proposed to the *Diet*, to have them given to the Elector of *Saxony* and his Family, who were accordingly invested with them. But all this stood for nothing ; the two Principals, *Brandenburg* and *Newburg*, and their Partizans both within and without the Empire, seem'd to take no Notice of what had pass'd ; and it does not appear that the Elector made any Attempt to enter on Possession in pursuance of the said Investiture, so that 'twould seem that he himself thought light of it.

On the 14th Day of May the two Princes lost their principal Protector, *Henry the Great*, King of *France*. They had

The Emperor invests *Saxony*.

Henry the Great dies.

had just sent the Prince of *Anhalt* to beg him to hasten his March. *Ravillac*, as it was thought, set on by the *Spaniard* and *Jesuits*, stabb'd him to the Heart with a Knife, in his Coach at *Paris*. This fatal Accident happened two or three Days before he was to set out for *Juliers*, and as 'twas thought at the Request of many of the Princes of the Empire, to interpose his Authority, and oblige the Emperor to desist enriching and aggrandizing himself with the Spoils of Families, by Confiscation or Reversion of all Fiefs Masculine; so that his Death gave a general Concern, as the Fore-runners and Circumstances of it were extraordinary*.

Mary,

* The King, some Months before, had an extreme Impatience to be out of *Paris*, he could find no rest in himself so long as he was in it. His Treasurer and great Confident *Sully* relates, that he had said to him more than once. *My friend, I shall never depart from this City. My Enemies have no other Remedy but my Death. It has been long told me that I should die in a Coach; this makes me oftentimes when I am in one be assaulted with Tremblings, and be fearful in spite of my self.* They advised him to shun these ill Prophecies, and to depart on the Morrow, and leave the Coronation of the Queen to be done without him; but she appearing greatly offended at this Motion, he remain'd only to please her. From many Places (previous) Advice was given of his Death. In *Spain* and *Milan* a report was spread of it in a public Paper. Eight Days before there passed a Courier through the City of *Liege*, who said he carried News to the Princes of Germany that he was Dead: at *Montargis* there was found a Note upon the Altar, containing the Prediction

Mary, the Queen Regent, under the Minority of *Lewis XIII.* assumed the Government, and laying aside the true Interests of the Kingdom, which was to oppose the Encroachments of *Spain*, she threw herself into the Arms of that very Power, and of *Rome*, looking upon these as her chief Supports against the Princes of the Blood, whom she excluded from all share in the Regency, and the *Protestants* of the Kingdom.

The

diction of his approaching Death by a determinate Blow ; in a word, the Report run through all *France* that he would not outlive that Year, and that he was to die in the 57th year of his Age. This great Soul, who was the very reverse of being either fearful or credulous, gave some faith to these Prognostics, and was so sad and cast down, that he seem'd as one condemned to Death. On the 14th of *May*, he went forth of the *Louvre* about four o'Clock in the Afternoon, to go visit *Sully* who was indisposed, and to see as he passed, the Preparations that were making for the Queen's Procession. He sat at the bottom of the Coach, having the Duke *d' Epernon* at his side, and the Marshal de *Lavarden* and four more Noblemen, sat before and in the Boots. The Coach in a narrow Street, incumbered with Shops and Booths, finding on one hand a Cart laden with Wine, and on the other, another laden with Hay, was constrained to stop. King *Henry II.* had formerly commanded the Street to be cleared, but it was not done. The Footmen passed through a nearer way to avoid the Trouble, and no Person being near the Coach, *Ravillac* came up, and observing the side on which the King sat, setting one Foot on one of the Spokes of the Wheel, and the other against a Stall, gave him a stab with a Knife between the second and third Rib, a little beneath the Heart. At this Blow, the King cryed out, *I am wounded.* The Villian, nothing affrighted, redoubled the Blow
and

The Em-
peror me-
ditates a
second At-
tempt.

The Princes thus stript of their chief Support, the Emperor had thoughts of making a fresh attempt on *Fuliers*, in order to brighten up the Lustre of his Arms, that had been so much sullied under Archduke *Leopold*. To this end, he strenuously solicits to be join'd by a Body of Troops from *Flanders*. *Spinola* was for it, but for this Time he was over-ruled by the Archduke †, so the Emperor dropt his Design.

However,

and struck him to the Heart, of which he died immediately, without uttering so much as a Sigh. The Murderer attempted a third, but was hindered. The Assassin endured the greatest Tortures with extraordinary Serenity and even Satisfaction; which confirm'd the Suspicion, that certain Emissaries under the mask of Religion had inspir'd into his enthusiastic Brain, that he should die a Martyr if he killed him whom they made believe was the sworn Enemy to the Church. (*James Clement*, who a few Years before kill'd King *Henry III.* by a stab with a Knife in the Belly, seem'd fir'd with the same frantic Notions.) The able Historian, from whom I have these Particulars, says, that some Persons, amongst others *Cochini* and his Wife, whom the King did not at all Love, but who had great Interest with the Queen, put it into her Thoughts to be Install'd and Crown'd before the King's Departure, in order to give greater Lustre to her Regency. The King was much against it, because the Ceremony could not be done without a great Expence; besides, that it would loose much time, and keep him too long at *Paris*. *La Vie de Henry IV. par l'Eveque de Rodez.*

† This Archduke *Albert*, whom we have so frequent occasion to mention in the Course of this Narrative, was a Prince of fine Accomplishments. *Philip II.* of *Spain* gave him in Marriage his beloved Daughter *Isabella*, and with her the *Ten Provinces*, commonly called *Flanders*,

as

However, as Things had taken such ^{The two} a Turn to the worse, at the Court of ^{Claimants} *France*, it was represented to the two ^{unite more} Princes, that now more than ever a good ^{closely.} Understanding and Harmony betwixt them was necessary: that so long as they continued United, they might expect their best Assistance: that though there had been no distinct Partition of the Succession made, yet might they, at least for

as being the principal Province, for her Dowry, on condition they should revert to *Spain*, if she died without Issue. (to his eldest Daughter, Wife to the Duke of *Savoy*, he left only a *Crucifix*, and an Image of *Our Lady*.) This mighty Monarch, finding both his Body and Mind broke with Infirmities and Cares, was willing now to be at Rest and Quiet; Blessings which hitherto he had allowed neither the World or himself. His designs upon *England* by his *invincible Armado* had ended in Smoak; and those upon *France* had Events quite contrary to his Expectation. Instead of establishing a tyrannical Government in the *Low Countries*, he had lost seven of his Provinces, and kept the rest only by a War. He had lately made Peace with *England*, and on the matter with *France*, and he hop'd that the Birth of Archduke *Albert*, who was a *German*, and the generous and sweet Temper of him and his Wife *Isabella*, might gain upon the *Netherlanders* more than he and his insolent Minister the Duke of *Alva* had been able to do by the *Sword*, and by the *Inquisition*. But the Sore with relation to the seven (United) Provinces was past Remedy. At first the Archduke was engag'd in War: at the Battle of *Newport* he was wounded, and and very near taken; afterwards he besieged *Ossend*: At last finding all was to no Purpose, he sheath'd the *Sword*; contented himself with the *Ten Provinces* which remain'd subject to *Spain*, and made Peace with the other *Seven*, (the *Dutch*,) and gave Tranquillity to his own People whom he loved, and by whom he was greatly beloved.

a little Time longer, govern jointly ; that soon there should be a Congress held where Things should be finally decided, 'twas hop'd, to both their Satisfaction. Above all, they were dehorted from looking out for new Allies, and making separate Interests. *Neuburg* was *Lutheran*, but had for some time past been secretly suspected to have no great Aversion to the Church of *Rome*. *Brandenburg* was *Calvinist*, as were most of the Allies and Friends of both Princes. 'Twas therefore fear'd, lest the first, mistrusting he should have equal Justice done him with the other, should, to procure the Friendship of the *Catholic League* in the Empire, and other Popish Powers, embrace the *Catholic* Religion, and put himself under their Protection. The Event shew'd that this Suspicion was but too well founded.

The Moderation of the mediating Powers and others.

The Year following the two Princes renew their Engagements of mutual Trust and Amity, chiefly through the good Offices of the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*. There were likewise some Overtures for a Partition, but these were only general, things being not yet ripe enough to proceed to a final Settlement. It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that though all *Germany* was at that Time divided into

into the two Factions of *Catholic* and *Protestant*, yet were they not carried to that degree of Fury in the present Affair, but that they both testify'd a just earnestness for a happy Accommodation; and it would likewise appear, that the foreign Powers were equally desirous to have all determin'd for the Peace of *Germany*; none seem'd desirous to Fish in troubled Waters, or to watch Opportunities. A rare Instance of Moderation, becoming better Times! and to be ascrib'd perhaps rather to a Political than natural or moral Cause. At this Time, neither of the two Families of *Brandenburg* or *Neuburg* being so considerable as to give any Umbrage to the neighbouring Powers by the Addition of a little more Territory*: And 'tis not at all to be doubted, but at the Congress of *Cologne*, the Difference would have been entirely made up by an equal Partition of the contested Countries betwixt the two Princes, had the Emperor not reviv'd the Affair of Sequestration, or the Right of the Elector of *Saxony*; neither of which Articles the Assembly would at all listen to.

* The Case is quite different at this Day with regard to *Brandenburg*, whose Greatness is perhaps the chief Obstacle to Justice being done him on the Part of *France* and the neighbouring Powers.

The Em-
peror dies.

This Emperor died in 1612. He could never make any Attempts on *Fuliers* but the first ; having been cross'd and undermined by his Brother *Matbias*, to whom the preceding Year he was forc'd to quit the Kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and to content himself with *Austria* and the Empire only. He was a learned Prince, much given to Painting, Chymistry and Astrology ; so that his Court was full of Men who profess'd those Sciences. He was not severe to the *Protestants*, but yet wanted much of that Goodness which was shewn them by his Father *Maximilian II.* who was called by the Writers of both sides, the *Lutheran Emperor*. He was much troubled at his Death, because he had not been able, without wounding the Imperial Authority, to secure a lasting Tranquillity to the Empire, by settling the Affair of *Fuliers*.

Three of
the five
Mediators
desert the
Cause.

His Successor *Matbias* at the beginning of his Reign was so much taken up with disputing the Right of naming the Prince of *Transilvania* with *Amurat* the Great *Turk*, that he meddled very little in the Affair of the *Succession*. The Queen Regent of *France* was wholly occupied in establishing her own Authority against her Domestic Foes, who
were

were very powerful, so that she resolv'd to remain Neuter with regard to *Juliers*, and to take no Share in Foreign Broils any farther than her own Interest should lead her. — King *James* had spent this and the preceding Year, chiefly in reading and confuting several *Arminian* Books, and in particular one on the *Divine Attributes* of the aforementioned *Vorstius*, the which Book he sent with his own Remarks upon it to his Minister Sir *Ralph Winwood* at the *Hague**, with a Letter to the States, advising and charging them to banish *Vorstius*. But due regard not being pay'd to those vigorous Remonstrances, in the year 1613, the King found himself necessitated to compose and publish a Book in *Latin*, entituled, *Protestatio Antivorstiana*, &c. Thus busied, 'tis evident the King could not find much time to concern himself with any Thing else. Thus three of the great Powers who at first made so mighty a Bustle, had in a manner abandoned the Cause, and left it in the Hands of the *Spaniard* and *Dutch* only, who indeed were most nearly interested in the Issue of it.

* Johnsoni Hist. Rer. Britannic, *Amstelod.* 1655. in fol.

The two
Princes
govern
jointly,
but disa-
gree.

The HISTORY of

The Elector of *Brandenburg* had sent at first one of his Brothers, and the Duke of *Neuburg* his eldest Son, to take possession of the Countries, and to govern jointly : The Revenues were equally divided betwixt them ; all the Garrisons were composed of an equal Number of Troops on either side : They lived both in the City of *Dusseldorp*, the Capital of the Duchy of *Berg*, and in the same Palace, each professing in particular his Religion in the *Calvinist* and *Lutheran* Chapels there ; and in fine acting in Concert in every thing that related to the Government of the Country. But the Maxim, that no one can long endure a Companion in the Sovereignty, was verifys'd on this Occasion. This good Understanding was of short Continuance betwixt the two Princes ; Jealousies began to arise ; each endeavoured underhand to make Partizans within, and powerful Protectors out of the Country : At last they came to an open Rupture.

The common Friends of both Princes suspecting that things would come to this Pass, had advis'd the two Families by intermarriages to knit the Bond of Amity in the closest Manner. *Neuburg* consents, goes to find the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and demands his Daughter in Marriage ;
but

but as the best Meats being corrupted are turn'd into the most deadly Poison; so in the most salutary Council given to these Princes, to strengthen their Friendship, was found the ground of implacable Hatred, which had like to issue in the total Ruin of both. For whilst they were carousing at their Feasts, the Elector on some talk that did not please him, in his House and at Table, was so irritated as to give *Neuburg* a box on the Ear †, for which he would never afterwards make a suitable Reparation; so that instead of a Wife he receiv'd an Indignity, which made so deep an Impression on his Heart, that henceforward he refus'd to listen to all Council but that of Revenge. He instantly leaves the Court of *Berlin*, and returns to *Cleves*, where after some Time past in deep Reflection, he marries a Sister of the Duke of *Bavaria*, embraces the *Roman* Religion, in order to procure the Friendship of the whole Catholic League of the Empire, throws himself into the Arms of *Spain*, and receives a Pension from that Crown *.

Neuburg
turns *Roman* Catholic,
and desires
the Protection of
Spain.

† Maxim. des Princes et des Etats souverains; par le Duc de Roban.

* Le Duc de Roban.

So close an Alliance of *Neuburg* with the House of *Bavaria*, gave great Uneasiness to the *Protestant* Princes of the Empire, and the more as he was Neighbour of the Elector of *Cologne*, Brother of the Duke of *Bavaria*, he could draw great Advantages from his Electorate and his Bishopric of *Leige*, which bordered one and the other with the Estates of the late Duke of *Cleves*. They considered moreover that the Duke of *Bavaria*, besides his being one of the most powerful Princes of the Empire, and most zealous of the *Roman* Religion, was likewise Head, conjointly with the Elector of *Mentz*, of the *Catholic League*, and that he was appointed sole General of the Armies of that League in case it should be found necessary to employ them *. All these Apprehensions were not however those which gave most Uneasiness to the *Protestants*; they suspected the King of *Spain*, and Archduke *Albert* to have been Privy to all the steps taken by *Neuburg*, and to have engag'd themselves to Support him with a great Body of Troops from *Flanders*, in consequence of those Steps. On the other Hand, the Prince of *Neuburg* and the *Catholic League* were no less apprehensive of the Allies of

* *Bentivoglio.*

Brandenburg,

Brandenburg, and particularly the *United Provinces*, and the *Protestant League*: They had also some Apprehensions of *Great Britain*. But with regard to *France* they were not sure what side she would range herself on; only 'twas probable that the Queen Regent could not suffer the *Spaniard* to make Conquests on the side of *Juliers*, without giving a just handle to the Princes of the Blood and others, to tax her for abandoning the true Interest of the Kingdom.

Such was the ticklish Situation of Affairs with regard to this famous Succession at the beginning of the year 1614. The Brother of the Elector of *Brandenburg* was dead sometime before. He had sent in his Place his eldest Son *George-William* whom this Succession regarded particularly, as being to succeed in right of his Mother. This Prince who was only 18 Years of Age, on his Arrival in the Country made some stay in the City of *Wesel*, and afterwards went to reside at *Cleves*, the Town which gives name to the Duchy. As he was very young, they had plac'd about him some able Persons to assist him with their Councils; but he was govern'd chiefly by those of the *States General*, and pay'd great Deference to their Authority. The Prince
of

of *Neuburg* continued his Residence at *Dusseldorp*, distant about 40 Miles from *Cleves*. As he was somewhat advanced in Years, and besides a Prince of no mean Parts, he governed by himself.

Brandenburg begins the War,

At the beginning of the Spring the Cloud which for some time past had been gathering over those Countries grew darker, and all Eyes were attentive where and how it would break. At last a Visit which at this time the Prince of *Neuburg* made to the Elector of *Cologne* gave Occasion (or perhaps only a Handle) to the Rupture. This Interview gave rise to new Suspicions and Jealousies in the Breast of the Prince of *Brandenburg*, which obliged him to become the Author of the first Troubles. With the assistance of the *Dutch* Garrisons which bordered with *Cleveland*, and a Body of his own Troops, he endeavoured to surprize and make himself Master of the City of *Dusseldorp* during *Neuburg's* Absence; but the Design miscarried by reason of the Intelligence that those within had had of it.

but fails in his first Attempt.

This Attempt gave Concern to all, but to none more than Archduke *Albert*, who considering that the smallest Hostility which should happen betwixt the two Princes would be of very dangerous Consequence,

sequence, and that from a little Spark might be kindled a great Fire, which would burn far and near, instantly resolved to do his utmost to extinguish it in the Beginning. He writ very pressing to the two Princes to engage them to maintain the Peace and Union betwixt themselves, declaring that he would turn his Arms and those of the King of *Spain* against the first who should enterprize the least Thing: He conjur'd the *States General* to use their utmost Efforts to preserve a good Understanding between the two Princes. He begg'd the Queen Regent of *France* to interpose her Authority to the same End, and to restrain the *Dutch* from taking violent Measures; and in fine, he propos'd a Congress, at which the neutral Powers should act as Mediators, and sovereignly decide the Difference. The *States* shew'd their earnest desire for an Accommodation, and the Queen Regent likewise promised to employ her good Offices with all Parties.

Notwithstanding those Assurances, the Archduke and the *Spaniards* were apprehensive that the Queen, embarrass'd as she was by the intestine Troubles and Divisions of *France*, would not have Weight enough to keep the *States* or the Princes from making new Attempts.

In

In fact, the *States General* were no less desirous of Peace, and an amicable Accommodation than the *Spaniard*. But Jealousy was at the Bottom of all their Proceedings ; they mistrusted the *Spaniards*, and fear'd that if they should be beforehand, and seize the Fortresses of these Countries, a new Door of entring their Provinces on that side would be opened to them. So perceiving the Alternative, that the Countries in Contest must be possess'd at least for a Time by them or the *Spaniards*, there was no room on their Part to deliberate who should have them.

I am not ignorant the *Spanish* Writers and others have tax'd the forwardness of the *United Provinces*, and charg'd them with being the first Aggressors. But they seem not to have duly considered Circumstances, nor the Situation of those Countries. Matters were now brought to a Crisis. The *States* solemnly declared and promised (to those Powers who both could and would oblige them to stand to their Promises,) that they would not keep a foot of Ground of what they should then possess themselves of, but only keep them in Trust for the lawful Owners, and re-deliver them when it could be done with safety to themselves. It
is

is confess'd that the King of *Spain* and the Archduke were now weary of Fighting, and desirous to end their Days in Peace; but Princes, and even the most despotic Ones, must be governed by the Councils and Maxims of their Kingdoms: Of themselves they do very little even in small Matters, and much less in the grand Concerns of Peace and War. It may happen, nay it has no doubt often happened, that Princes who have been naturally turn'd to Peace, have been engag'd in War all their Life long, as on the other Hand, Princes of a warlike Disposition have had very calm and peaceable Reigns. The Courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels* were chiefly compos'd of Warriors, who had but just sheath'd the Sword, so that the Martial Spirit had suffer'd no Abatement; the Maxims of the *Spanish* Monarchy had not varied; a new Opportunity offers to her to reduce the *Hollanders*, who had been once her Subjects, or shall I say, her Slaves. To which add, that King * *Philip* in Dowry with his Daughter had given the Archduke not only the *Ten Provinces* which continued in their Obedience, but also the other *Seven*, if he could reduce them; a

* Sir William Temple's Memoirs.

mighty

mighty Temptation to his Serene Highness to lay hold on the Opportunity that now presented with the most inviting Aspect. But to return from this Digression.

He succeeds in his second Attempt, and seizes upon *Ju-liers*.

Brandenburg and his Ally having broke the Ice, had no thoughts of retreating: The unsuccessfulness of the first Attempt did not discourage them. Some Days after they made another, and succeeded in it, which was of far greater Consequence than that on *Dusseldorp*. The two Princes had in common, as has been before said, put Garrisons of an equal Number of Troops into all those Places they judg'd proper. The strongest Garrison had been put into the Town and Citadel of *Juliers*, the Governor whereof had serv'd in the Troops of the *United Provinces*, under Count *Maurice*. *Neuburg* suspected the Man, and was casting about how he might make himself Master of the whole Garrison, at least this is what *Brandenburg* gave out, before he made the Attempt himself. Not but that it was probable enough, and indeed lawful to *Neuburg* to make Reprials on his Antagonist, who had first begun Hostilities. In the Night the Governor with the Troops of *Brandenburg*, surprized those of *Neuburg*, disarm'd them,

them; and drove them out of *Juliers*, and then receiv'd a Body of Troops from the neighbouring Garrisons of the *States*.

So soon as the News of this Action had reach'd *Neuburg*, he immediately resolv'd to indemnify himself by another, which in Truth was not of so great Consequence as that of *Juliers*. He made himself wholly Master of the City of *Dusseldorp*, drove that Part of the Garrison that obey'd *Brandenburg* out of it, and fell to fortifying it.

The Town of *Dusseldorp* is situate on the Banks of the *Rhine*, it is not large, but the Situation is exceeding Beautiful, particularly that of the Castle or Palace, which commands a full Prospect of that River. But *Juliers* was of more Importance, as being bigger, and adorned with a good Citadel, fortify'd in the modern Way, with Basons quite round, so that 'twas reckon'd one of the strongest Places of those Parts. It commands a large and fertile Country, full of beautiful and extended Plains, call'd the Duchy of *Juliers*, from the name of its chief City. It is a Frontier Town on the side of *Flanders*, and a Key to that Country. It is not therefore at all to be wondered at, that the Court of *Prussels* took the Alarm. The *Spaniards* who

And *Neuburg*
makes
himself
Master of
Dusseldorp.

who resided in that City and in the Country exclaimed mightily against the Archduke for letting the *Dutch* be before hand with him. They blam'd him for tarnishing the Glory of the *Spanish* Monarchy, and the Wisdom of her Councils: They conjur'd him to rouse himself, and to repel the Insolence of those Intruders who had had the Boldness to take a neutral Place, which gave them an opportunity of invading the *Spanish Netherlands* on that side.

The *States* endeavoured to excuse this bold Action, by again declaring that they had not caus'd their Troops to march into *Fuliers*, but in order to preserve the Peace which the two Princes would interrupt by their Divisions. That they had caused to evacuate the Place, the Troops of *Brandenburg* likewise, and that they only kept it as a *Depositum* till the lawful Owners should agree between themselves, and secure by that means the public Tranquillity.

The
Archduke
labours an
Accom-
modation,
but in
vain.

The Archduke who could now no longer remain a bare Spectator, and the *Spanish* Ministers who laboured under him in the Government of *Flanders*, resolve if possible to dislodge the *Dutch*, or at least to put a stop to the farther Progress of their Arms. They sent in all diligence

diligence a Messenger to *Spain* to acquaint the King with the taking of *Ju-liers*; they represent to his Majesty the necessity of having recourse to the most speedy and vigorous Measures; that an Army must be forthwith raised, and a Sum of 400,000 Crowns sent to defray the Charges.

It is not to be express'd how much uneasiness this Piece of News gave *Philip* and the Court of *Madrid*. It was immediately resolved to levy an Army, and to send the Sum demanded for that Effect. But by reason of the great Distance, about 1000 Miles betwixt *Brussels* and *Madrid*, before the Messenger could return 'twas at least a Month, the Archduke therefore made use of that Interval for an amicable Accommodation. To that end he propos'd a Meeting at *Wesel*, but without effect. Next he sent Count *Octave Visconti*, a very able Negotiator, to *Cleves*, where the Son of the Elector of *Brandenburg* resided, to engage him to cultivate a good understanding with *Neuburg*. But the Answers on the Part of that young Prince were conceiv'd in general Terms. Thence he steers his Course to *Dusseldorp* and makes the same Propositions to *Neuburg*. That Prince excus'd his seizing on *Dusseldorp*, as a just
E Reprisal

Reprisal for the loss of *Fuliers*, and made use of the most pressing Instances with *Visconti* to engage the Archduke to take a Care of his Interests, and the *Catholic King* to take him under his Protection. Next the most Serene Archduke renews his Instances with *France* and *Great Britain* to oblige the *States* to evacuate *Fuliers*. It is pretty plain, that had the Regent of *France* laid Commands upon the *Dutch*, they durst not have refused Compliance thereto; and this is what gave no small uneasiness to the *Spaniards*, who expected the Queen would have been more at their Devotion. But as her Majesty's intestine Foes were mostly of the Reformed Religion, it would have been a piece of no good Policy in her to have made a powerful neighbouring State of the same Religion, her Enemy likewise. She always had it in her Power to cast the Ballance, if any eminent Danger was like to happen to *France*. She thereby kept both *Spain* and the *United Provinces* dependent on her.

Mean while the *Spanish* Gold began to appear. The Archduke received 200,000 Crowns, with Assurances the other 200,000, and a greater Sum if there should be occasion for it, should soon follow.

A Part of the Summer was now pass'd, and no Plenipotentiaries from *France* or *Great Britain* appearing, which the Archduke had long with Impatience look'd for, he sees himself at last forc'd to turn his Thought to War. Orders are issued out for new Levies.

Upon the signing of the Truce of 12 Years with the *Dutch* in 1609, the *Spanish* Army had been reduced to 8000 Foot and 1200 Horse; whereas the *States* had kept up one of 20000 Foot and 2500 Horse, besides 4000 Foot and 200 Horse maintain'd by the Crown of *France*. The Archduke augmented the Army to near 30000 Men, of which 18000 Foot and 2400 Horse were to compose the main Army, and the rest were to be employed in defending the Frontiers and fortifying the Places.

All this Time *Neuburg* was in a Panic, least the *States*, hearing of these warlike Preparations, should fall upon him and seize on *Dusseldorp*: So he makes pressing Instances at the Court of *Brussels* to hasten the March of the Troops. He made some Levies himself, by means of an Aid of Money he had received from the Duke of *Bavaria*, and another which the *Catholic League* secretly furnished him with. And no sooner had this Prince openly declared him-

self *Catholic*, than the Pope resolved to assist him with the Contingent of Money which he was to contribute to the *League* in case of a War. *Bentivoglio*, says he, was vigorously set upon by *Neuburg* for this Sum.

About this Time King *James* being again earnestly solicited by the Archduke, nominated Sir *Henry Wotton*, so famous for his fine Parts and many Embassies, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, to negotiate an Accommodation. That Minister propos'd a new Expedient, which was, that before every thing else, they should put *Fuliers* in *Depositum* into the Hands of a neutral Person, one who had no Interest in the Affair, and he propos'd for that, three Persons, out of which they might chuse one. The first that was named was a *Catholic*, and the other two *Protestants*. The Archduke would have willingly agreed to the first; as the other two were entirely devoted to the *Protestant League* of the Empire, he would have neither of them: but *France*, whither she did not approve of this Expedient, or the Choice of Persons, or that she would not give in this Affair any Advantage to the King of *Great Britain*, never declared herself on any of these Means. Only the Queen Regent continued to assure the Archduke

Archduke that she would soon send a Person on purpose into *Holland*, and that till then she would not fail to make, by her Ambassador in Ordinary, all possible Instances to oblige the *States* to quit *Fuliers*.

About this Time the *States* made fresh Declarations, that they had not possess'd themselves of *Fuliers*, with design to keep it, but to hinder the two Princes to increase their Divisions; that they were ready to deliver it up, without waiting the final Issue of all their Differences, so soon as it could be agreed on into whose Hands the Place should be put, which they presum'd might be speedily done. But as *Fuliers* with its Citadel was the most important Place, and as it were the Metropolis of the whole Succession, it may be doubted, whether the *States* could really believe that it was a Point which might be soon determined, to which of the two Princes it should be given.

It would however appear, that the Courts of *Great Britain and France* found this new Declaration very reasonable, and had they employed their united Credit and Authority, they could easily in a very little time have terminated all Differences. The Ambassador of *France*

in particular accused the Archduke and the *Spaniards* for too much Precipitancy: He condemn'd them for their making such great Levies, and added, that they might be well assured that the *States* would send an Army into the Field so soon as they should see That of the King of *Spain* and the Archduke: So that the two Armies approaching one the other, to oppose the Designs that they should have equally form'd, it would infallibly happen that the Truce would be broke through the Default of the Archduke and the *Spaniards*, which would occasion a new War betwixt his Highness and the *Dutch*; in which Case he desired him seriously to think of the Consequences, and not to be the Aggressor, by first taking the Field. What Impressions these pathetic Remonstrances might make on the Archduke in particular does not appear: But before they were made, it had been finally resolv'd on at both the Courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels*, not to suffer the *States* under whatsoever Pretext, any longer to keep *Fuliers*; and in case it could not be recovered, some other Thing was to be enterpriz'd to ballance the Loss, and stop the Enemy's Progress.

The Characters of the two Generals.

The Marquis of *Spinola*, principal Minister of the *Catholic* King for the Affairs

fairs of the *Netherlands*, had the Management of the War committed to him. His first Appearance in these Parts was in the Year 1601, when he came with a Recruit of eight Thousand *Italians* to Archduke *Albert*, who left the Direction of the Siege of *Ostend* to him: The taking of which Place, after the most memorable Siege of that or perhaps any other Age, was his first Essay, and discover'd a superior Genius. For the Space of five and twenty Years after he acted a grand Roll on this Theatre of War; nor was he reckon'd less able in the Council than in the Camp. He was called back to *Spain* in 1627.

Prince *Maurice*, on the Murder of his Father the Prince of *Orange* by a *Spanish* Emissary in 1684, had the Command of the Army of the *States* committed to him: His eldest Brother *Philip* Count of *Buren*, had been seiz'd by the Duke of *Alva*, while he was studying at the University of *Louvain*, and sent Prisoner into *Spain*, where he was bred a *Roman Catholic*. He was detain'd many Years there by way of Hostage or Pledge, and at last was sent back to *Brussels*, where he died in 1618, without Heirs; upon which Prince *Maurice* his Brother succeeded to his Title and Dominions. This

great Captain could not have wish'd for a more equal Competitor in Military Glory than *Spinola*. Those two Generals, who seem'd to divide the Fame of the Age they liv'd in betwixt them, resembled one another in many Things; and were so equally ballanc'd, that at the End of many Years hot Contest and Wars, on their quitting the Scene, Things seem'd to be much in the same Situation they were at their first entering upon it. Battles were fought, Cities taken, &c. with alternate Success. They were equally the Objects of entire Confidence of their *Principals*, who thought their Honour and the Security of their respective Countries safe in their Hands. There was no Military Virtue wanting in them; but Sagacity and Expedition made perhaps the Characteristic of both: They were equally expert in the Discipline of their Armies: They were both Masters (and indeed Inventors) in Fortification; the one in that Part of it which regard Towns, and the other in what belongs to Camps. *Spinola's* two Camps before *Breda* and *Ostend* were Master-Pieces of their Kind*. The Prince

* This famous Seige lasted upwards of three Years; during which Time the Prince at the Head of good Armies often attempted to relieve it, by attacking the
Camp

Prince was as it were all alone ; he very seldom had a Second in the Army to consult with : But the Marquis had many able Officers under him, who were capable to execute as well as to advise if the Jealousy of the General would have suffered him to employ them.

About this Time King *James* sent the Prince the *Blue Riband*, which mark of Respect was thankfully receiv'd. However it is not to be doubted but both *Maurice* and his Masters were in the same Way of thinking with that famous Wit the Duke *d'Ossuna*, on a like * Occasion ; and would have been more sensibly oblig'd had the King sent them over a
good

Camp, but always in vain, so exceeding strong the Marquis had made it ; tho' part of it was likewise expos'd to Attacks from the Sea, the Haven being open all that while, by means whereof the Town had constant Supplies of Men and Provisions. It was took chiefly for want of Ground, which *Spinola* gain'd from Foot by Foot, till they had not-so much left as would hold Men to defend it. The *Dutch* say this Siege cost 100,000 Men on both Sides, of which they and their Allies lost 30,000. But *Puffendorf* makes the Loss of the *Dutch* alone amount to 70,000. Sir *Francis Vere* was Governor of the Town for some time during the Siege, which, if we may believe *Metteren* and other *Dutch* Historians, was not the most glorious Part of that Gentleman's Life.

* That Duke, who was Viceroy of *Naples* and *Sicily* under the King of *Spain*, being at *Messina*, went to visit the famous Church called *St. Mary of the Letter*, because of a *Letter* kept therein, which they pretend she sent from Heaven by *St. Luke*, her Secretary, to assure that City of
her

good Body of Troops to help to keep the *Spaniards* from their Frontier.

The
Spanish
Army
take the
Field.

Mastricht, a City which borders with the Country of *Fuliers*, was appointed the Place of Rendevouze for the *Spanish* Army.

The *States* had no sooner heard of the Archduke's taking the Field, than they put three Thousand Men by way of Reinforcement into *Fuliers*, so that the Garrison, comprising the Troops which were there before, consisted of four Thousand Foot, and three Hundred Horse: They moreover repair'd and augmented the Fortifications with great Diligence, and provided it with every Thing necessary against a Siege. Hitherto they had made no other Preparations of War, and were now observing with great Attention the Movements of the *Spaniards*. The Designs of the Latter were kept a profound Secret. 'Twas nevertheless thought they would not attempt *Fuliers*, the Siege appeared very difficult, the Place being so well fortified and provided as it was, and 'twas not to be doubted but the *States*

her Protection. The Archbishop presented him, according to Custom, that holy Relique to kifs. The Duke did so, but could not forbear Saying, *Our Lady would have obliged us more sensibly, if she had sent us a good Bill of Exchange, to enable us to drive the Infidels from our Coasts.*

would

would do their utmost, either to relieve it, or to make some important Diversion on the Side of *Flanders*. Besides, the *Spaniards* in going to attack directly the Army of the *Dutch*, they manifestly broke the Truce, and this is what the Archduke would by no means have done.

Such was the Regard the Courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels* had to Religion, that the first Work their Army was engaged in was to recover a City out of the Hands of the Heretics, who had usurp'd the Sovereignty of it, and to restore it to the Catholic Magistrates. This City was *Aix la Chapelle*, situate indeed in the Duchy of *Juliers*, but Imperial, and of very little Strength.

Thither then the Marquis *de Spinola* directs his March at the Head of a well appointed Army, consisting of two Thousand five Hundred *Spaniards*, with eight Hundred *Irish*, who were incorporated with them, and three Thousand seven Hundred *Germans*, nine Thousand *Wal-loons*, besides an *Italian* Regiment, consisting of two Thousand Men, who were encamped near the *Rhine*, and one or two more detached Bodies; so that the whole Army consisted of eighteen Thousand Foot, and two Thousand five Hundred Horse, with twelve Pieces of Cannon.

It

It lay incamped for some Time in a beautiful and large Plain, betwixt *Mastricht* and *Aix*, at the Distance of two Hours March from the last of those Places.

Bentivoglio, the Pope's Nuncio at the Court of *Brussels*, who might in Part have been the Author of the sage Design of falling upon *Aix*, says, that after he had acquitted himself of all that regarded his Ministry in the preceding Negotiations, he form'd the Resolution of accompanying the Army, and that that Resolution was highly approved at *Rome*.

“ Methought, continues the Cardinal,
 “ ’twould be a thing advantageous to
 “ the Sovereign Pontif, and which would
 “ dart Terror into the Hearts of the He-
 “ retic Powers, to see one of his Mini-
 “ sters in the suit of an Army, which
 “ had not took the Field, but to protect
 “ and procure Advantages to the *Catho-*
 “ *lic* Religion *.” But those same Here-
 tic Princes were not so daunted at the sight of his Eminency as he imagined.

Spinola's
 Speech to
 the Army.

But with regard not only to this, but also the other Designs of the Army in the ensuing Campaign, *Spinola* gives the best Light in the Speech he made to his Army before he left *Mastricht*, which

*. Memoire del Cardinali *Bentivoglio*. In *Venetia*, Tom. 2.

Speech being Authentic, and otherwise curious enough of the Kind, I shall here present to the Reader. It was conceiv'd in these Terms, "Gentlemen, the Insolence and the Audacity of the *Hereticks* are arrived at such a Height, and the Enterprizes they have form'd in this Neighbourhood, are of such Consequence, that we have been oblig'd to have recourse to the way of Arms in order to remedy them. And to begin with the last which they have executed upon *Juliers*; is it not of the greatest Moment, and one of the boldest? The *United Provinces* have had the Assurance to seize on neutral Countries, and by favour and under the *bonne foi* of the Truce, have done that which they dar'd not do during the Course and in the hottest of the War. The great Zeal, that is to say, the love and concern they have, if you will believe them, for the Public Good, have oblig'd them to take *Juliers*; Pretexts of the same nature almost with those which made them revolt against their lawful Prince, and which afterwards have hardened them in their Rebellion. Thus justly are the King of *Spain* and the Archduke offended at such an Action, and it is to shew
" their

“ their Resentment of it, that they have
“ considerably augmented the Army by
“ new Levies, and that it is now assembled at *Mastricht*. But before we
“ think of the Affairs of *Fuliers*, the
“ Vicinity of *Aix le Chapelle* ought
“ to engage us to make on that side the
“ first Efforts of our Army; to punish
“ the Heretics of that City, and to execute the Imperial Mandate discerned
“ against them, of which the Archduke
“ and the Elector of *Cologne* are Bearers.
“ Every one knows with what boldness and with what contempt for the
“ Imperial Mandates, the *Heretic* Citizens have dar'd usurp the Government
“ of *Aix*, which belong'd formerly to
“ the *Catholics* only. Thus an infinity
“ of Reasons oblige us to repress by
“ Force so unjust an Usurpation. To
“ effect this will be our first Attempt.
“ Afterwards we will march streight
“ to *Mulheim*, to raze its Fortifications;
“ the Archduke being likewise charged
“ with Orders from the Emperor to do
“ it, as the Elector of *Brandenburg*
“ would never pay Obedience to the Imperial Rescript obtained by the City of
“ *Cologne* for that Effect. At the same
“ time we will enter the Territories of
“ *Cleves* and *Fuliers*, and make ourselves
“ Masters

“ Masters of all the Places we can, by
“ way of Reprisal for what the *United*
“ *Provinces* have done with regard to
“ the Town and Citadel of *Juliers*, and
“ what they would have done to several
“ other Places of those Countries, if they
“ had not been restrained by the Terror
“ of our Arms. Though our Enterprizes
“ be alike, there will nevertheless be a
“ great difference in our Views. Their’s
“ being to keep possession of *Juliers*,
“ whereas we shall be always ready to
“ restore the Places that we shall take,
“ thus to oblige them to do the same on
“ their Side, and again to put the Affairs
“ of these Provinces in the same Con-
“ dition they were formerly.

“ These are for the present the De-
“ signs of the King and the Archduke,
“ which I have thought proper to im-
“ part unto you, and it is in this manner
“ we are to endeavour to accomplish
“ them ; God grant the Effects may an-
“ swer our Hopes, and, to judge by Ap-
“ pearances, we may flatter ourselves we
“ shall meet with no great Difficulties.
“ You will see the Keys of *Aix la*
“ *Chapelle* put into my Hands, as soon
“ as I shall ask them. That and eve-
“ ry thing else will be but Children’s
“ Play to us. — We will face the E-
“ nemy,

“ nemy, besiege Places, and take them
“ under his Nose.

“ At present we see no Armies in the
“ Field that can hinder the Execution
“ of all this, and suppose the *United*
“ *Provinces*, as it is very probable, should
“ send a Body of Troops, we are before-
“ hand with them; so that we shall
“ have accomplish'd our principal De-
“ signs, before they be in a Condition
“ to oppose them. Having thus so great
“ Advantage over our Enemies the *Uni-*
“ *ted Provinces* and the Elector of *Bran-*
“ *denburg*, they will be forc'd to put
“ the Affairs of this Country in their
“ first Situation, and for the future not
“ to take Advantage of an infinity of
“ Incidents that may happen, to disturb
“ the public Tranquillity.”

But from this time that the Marquis made himself Master of *Aix*, it remained in good Measure subject to the King of *Spain*, who drew an annual Subsidy from its Territory *. So that that Part of the Speech which breathes so much for the *Catholic* Religion, and executing the Emperor's Commission, was

* *Aix* was afterwards pawn'd by *Spain* to the *States General*, together with several other Places, for Money lent during her Wars with *France*. They were said to raise here upon that Score about 9000 Pound *per Annum*.

little more than Grimace, and but barely covered the real Design hid under it.

The City of *Aix*, for the greatest Part lies in a lovely Valley surrounded with Hills, Woods, and Vineyards, but on one side the Ground is gently rising in form of an Amphitheatre, beyond which are some Hills which command the City, being within Musquet-shot of the Wall. Here *Spinola* threatened to erect a Battery, on the *Protestant* Inhabitants refusing to throw open their Gates; but as they understood nothing of War, and the City defended only by an old single Wall, they took the wisest Course, and capitulated. The *Spanish* General and his Army still carrying on the Farce, did not enter the City, but only sent the Deputies of the Elector of *Cologne* and Archduke *Albert* to serve the Imperial Mandate. The Issue of the whole matter was the turning out six hundred Men whom the Elector of *Brandenburg* had some time before put into the Town, the re-establishing the *Catholic* Magistrates in the Government, and for the farther security of the *Catholics*, who were much inferior in Number to the *Protestants*, 'twas thought proper to leave a Garrison of twelve hundred Men in the City. And thus it

The *Spaniards* take *Aix* and some other Places.

fell into the hands of the King of *Spain*, who henceforward made use of it for Winter Quarters to the Soldiers, drew an annual Revenue to help to pay them, and very probably he had over and above a free Gift from the rich Clergy, in return for this seasonable Delivery out of the Hands of their Enemies. A general Pillage was dreaded particularly by the *Protestants*, but *Spinola* had express Orders from the Archduke not to suffer any thing of that Nature.

Whilst the Army lay at *Mastricht*, there arrived at the Court of *Brussels* the two Minister-Plenipotentiaries who had been long promised on the part of *France*, and *Great Britain*. The last of those Ministers had no sooner set his Foot in *Holland*, (where he was to transact some other Affairs) than through the *British* Resident at *Brussels*, he made the most pressing Instances to the Archduke to countermand the March of his Army, assuring him that the *States* had accepted of the Proposal, which was to put *Fu-liers* in *Depositum* into a neutral Hand. The *States* by their own Minister back this Declaration, and solemnly promise to stand to it; and with regard to the manner of executing it, they referred that to the Wisdom of the two mediating Powers.

Powers. The Ambassador of *France*, made vigorous Remonstrances to the same Effect. But the Archduke, encourag'd with the Success of his Arms on *Aix*, made answer, that the *States* should first surrender *Juliers*, and then he would countermand his Army ; but unless this was done ; for bare Words and fruitless Negotiations, he refus'd absolutely to consent to it : So that *Spinola* without losing a Moment's Time, after he had settled Matters at *Aix*, marches to *Dueren*, the second Town of the Dutchy of *Juliers*, takes it, and puts a Garrison of six hundred Men into it ; and does the same with Regard to some other Places of less Note. He moreover razes the Fortifications of *Mulheim*, a Town in the Dutchy of *Berg*, on the other side the *Rhine*, almost over against *Cologne* ; It serv'd for the Place of Worship to the *Lutheran* Inhabitants of that imperial City, so that the Demolition of it was a popular Action to the *Roman Catholics*, and serv'd well to colour the Designs of the *Spaniard* on this Occasion. At the same Time, the Body of *Italians*, who were quarter'd on the *Rhine* seiz'd *Orsoy*, an important Place by reason of its Situation on that River ; It lies in the Dutchy of *Cleves*, and is the Key to it.

Thither the *Spinola* directs his March, having a greater Prize in View, than all those already made put together. On his Rout he stept, a little out of the way, to *Dusseldorp*, to condole with the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Neuburg*, on the Death of his Father: He had juſt chang'd his Title, from Prince *Palatine* of *Neuburg* into that of *Duke*. *. His Father was a zealous Aſſertor and Friend of the *Proteſtant Religion*, ſo that his Son's turning *Roman* this Year, gave him very great Grief.

They alſo
take *We-*
ſel.

Weſel is not only the beſt Town in *Cleaveland*, but is not inferior to the beſt Towns on the *Rhine*. It is ſituate on the Conflux of the *Lippe* into that River. It is large, well fortify'd, populous, and enjoys a good Trade. At this Time it was partly Imperial, having in ſome Meaſure diſingag'd itſelf from any Dependance on the Dukes of *Cleves*. The Burghers were greatly alarm'd on ſeeing the Approach of the *Spaniſh* Army. *Maurice*, who by this Time had taken the Field, had offer'd them a Body of Troops by way of Precaution, but they refus'd to accept of them; thus they had nothing to oppoſe to *Spinola* but their Walls.

*. In *Germany*, the Title of *Duke* is of greater Dignity than that of *Prince*.

It is certain, had they receivd the smallest Number of *Dutch* Soldiers into their Town, the Marquiss would have made no Attempt upon it, having had the most exprefs Orders from the Archduke, as has been before observed, not to act in any ways against the *Dutch*, to the end that no Occasion might be given to an open Rupture.

The Besieged after four Days Resistance surrender'd. Among the Articles of Capitulation the principal one was, that when the *United Provinces* surrender'd *Juliers*, they would surrender in like manner *Wesel*. Here *Spinola* put an End to the Campaign: *Maurice* on the other hand took *Emmerick* and *Rees*, two good Towns on the *Rhine*, betwixt *Wesel* and the Town of *Cleves*. As the Prince's Army consisted of 14,000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, he could easily have fallen upon the Marquiss and routed him; now that his Troops had been fatigued with Marches, and besides, very much diminish'd by garisoning so many Places. But his Orders from his Masters the *States* were as strict as the other's, viz. that he should on no Account attack the *Spaniards*, but avoid giving the least Handle to break the Truce. Thus in the Movement of both the Armies, they never

Maurice
takes *Em-*
merick
and *Rees*.

oppos'd one another; they often met, but liv'd in good Understanding; and he who came first to a Place took it, without meeting any Opposition from the other; so that the most Expeditious, was the most Successful.

The two Armies lay encamped, that of *Spinola*, in the Neighbourhood of *Wesel*, and the Prince's near *Rees*, about five Miles distance one from the other. The first had been join'd by the Troops of *Neuburg*, consisting of Four thousand Foot, and Four hundred Horse, and the latter, by Seven hundred Horse of *Brandenburg*, and a Regiment of Foot from the Elector *Palatine*.

This Conquest of *Spinola's* gave no small Surprize and Concern to the Courts of *France*, *Great Britain*, and the *Protestant* Princes of *Germany*. They were afraid 'twould be a hard Matter to bring the *Spaniards* to give up a Place of so great Importance; but the *States* were so alarm'd at it, as it might give the Enemy so easy an Opportunity to invade their Provinces on that Side, that they engag'd the two mediating Powers to double their Efforts to bring Matters to an amicable Composition. To this End the two Ambassadors go to the Armies; and after some Conferences with
Brandenburg

Brandenburg, Neuburg, Maurice and Spinola; it was agreed, a Treaty of Accommodation should be set on Foot at *Santen*, a Town of the Duchy of *Cleves* near the *Rhine*, and at an equal Distance between the two Camps.

A Congress
is open'd
at *Santen*.

Thither on the Part of the most Christian King came M. de *Refuges*, one of the principal Ministers of the Court, and the Ambassador of *France* Resident in *Holland*, from *Great Britain* Sir *Henry Wotton*, and also her Ambassador Resident in *Holland*; for the Archduke, M. *Pecquier* Chancellor of *Brabant*, and the Councillor *Viscer*; three Deputies of the Elector of *Cologne*; Seven from the seven United Provinces; two from the Elector *Palatine* *, who were to act for the Interests of the *Protestant League* of the Empire; three for *Brandenburg* and three for the Duke of *Neuburg*. The Reader will be surpriz'd to find none in Behoof of the Elector of *Saxony*. Perhaps that Prince despair'd to have Right done him; perhaps, and which is most likely, the mediating Powers and and Parties interested, had excluded him

*. The same who married *Elizabeth* Daughter to King *James I.* of *Great Britain*. He was very active, and made the most considerable Figure of all the *Protestant* Princes of the Empire of his Time. He deserv'd a kinder Father in Law.

from all the Negotiations. - Nor is it less strange that the Emperor had no Minister here, on so great an Occasion : In General it would appear that in smaller Matters the Emperor's dictate ; but in Things of Importance relating to the Empire, foreign Powers will have their Vote : Thus in the new settling this same Succession to the Prince of *Sultzbach*, we find *France*, *Great Britain*, and the *United Provinces* are the principal Actors.

The Overtures which had been made on the Part of the mediating Powers at *Cologne*, were to serve for the Basis of the ensuing Treaty. Tho' the Deputies of the *States* were present at all the Consultations ; those of the Archduke were excluded, which did not appear reasonable : However *Refuges* and *Wotton* gave them an Account of every Thing that past in the Conferences *.

As 'twas apparent to all that a too great Community of Goods, as settled by the first provisional Treaty had been the Occasion of all the Troubles that had happen'd, 'twas now resolv'd to make an equal Partition of the Estates, excepting only the Titles which should be common to both Princes, and certain other

*. Bentivoglio.

Rights, which in their own Nature could not well be separate. In Consequence of this Resolution 'twas propos'd, in Order to make the Halves as equal as possible; that one of the Princes should make them, and the other should choose; or, that each should enjoy for six Months the Half that should fall to him, by Turns. *Neuburg* lik'd the first Proposition, which beyond all Question was the most reasonable, and least liable to Exception. But *Brandenburg* inclin'd to the other, being underhand induc'd thereto by the Deputies of the *States*. The Ministers mediating could not but perceive the glaring Inconveniencies of this second Proposal; but such was the Peremptoriness of *Brandenburg* and the *United Provinces*, that they agreed to it, *viz.* that the two Princes should possess each, one Half of the contested Countries alternately, rather than remain perpetual Possessors of that Part which should fall to them. *.

*. Here the Partiality of the two great mediating Powers was visible: The Truth is, in all this Affair, *Great Britain* and *France* favour'd the *United Provinces*, from whom they had nothing to fear. But the Monarchy of *Spain* was still formidable, so that Policy more than Equity and Justice on this Occasion was conspicuous; and the same ever will happen on all like Occasions. 'Tis with Princes as with Particulars, Interest is the reigning Principle and Rule of most of their Actions.

The

The Archduke who had just receiv'd a Remittance of 300,000 Crowns more from the Court of *Madrid*, was nevertheless bent on a Peace, but was sorry to find, that no better Measures had been taken to make it lasting. An alternate Possession could at most suspend for a Time the Animosities of the two Princes, but not put a final End to Differences. The *Spanish* Ministers, and particularly the Ambassador of that Crown at *Brussels* declar'd against the new Regulation, and insisted that nothing should be done by way of Ratification on the part of the Archduke, without first knowing the Mind of the Kingdom of *Spain*. The giving up *Wesel*, a preliminary Article in the Treaty, was what that Minister could not think of without extream Regret. The Letter he wrote to the King on this Occasion, was conceiv'd in these Words.

The *Spanish* Ambassador dislikes the Treaty.

“ The Chagrin which your Majesty's
 “ Enemies discover for the Acquisition
 “ of *Wesel*, shews of what Importance
 “ this Conquest is for the Interest of
 “ *Flanders*. They see with an extreme
 “ Dislike the royal Ensigns of your Majesty planted in that Place, which is of
 “ the last Consequence on the *Rhine*,
 “ and the most proper to make a Place
 “ of Arms, and one of the Keys of *Flanders*.

“ *ders*, whence you may, when you
“ please, carry your Arms into all those
“ Parts, whether the Interests of your
“ Majesty, and those of the *Catholic*
“ *Religion* inseparably join’d to yours,
“ shall call them. This Conquest there-
“ fore procuring the greatest Advanta-
“ ges to the Crown of *Spain*, it is of the
“ highest Concern to think well before it
“ be deliver’d up. The Archduke, and
“ some of the Ministers here, are ap-
“ prehensive, that if *Wesel* be not surren-
“ der’d, ’twill occasion the Breach of
“ the Truce betwixt the Monarchy of
“ *Spain* and the *United Provinces*;
“ and I, and several others besides me,
“ are of a contrary Opinion; we think
“ that the keeping of it will effectually
“ awe the *States*. *Wesel*, so to speak,
“ is at their very Door: With Regard
“ to their Good and sincere Intention,
“ that of their Friends, you have alrea-
“ dy been inform’d in one of my Letters.
“ They have resolv’d on Means of Ac-
“ commodation, more proper to increase
“ and perpetuate the Differences, than
“ to remove them; and this is apparently
“ done in no other Design, than to hin-
“ der the peaceable Settlement of the
“ Succession. I do not say that we
“ ought

“ ought not absolutely to give up *Wesel*,
 “ when ’twill be convenient to do it by
 “ more important Considerations; but
 “ ’tis necessary that that should be done
 “ as well as the Treaty of *Santen*, with
 “ the Consent of your Majesty. The
 “ Liberty of losing is always in our Pow-
 “ er; but one cannot gain when he
 “ would, so that when one does not know
 “ to make Advantage of a favourable
 “ Occasion, it returns no more; and of-
 “ ten when one has omitted to profit by
 “ it, it even turns to his Disadvantage
 “ afterwards. We owe all the happy
 “ Success that has happened, to the glo-
 “ rious Arms of your Majesty, and as
 “ on one side, Fortune has favoured the
 “ Justice of them, you will without
 “ doubt, likewise on your Part, make
 “ so good a use of her Favours, that
 “ your Prudence may on this great
 “ Occasion, be admired and extoll’d
 “ through the Universe.

A Treaty
 of Partiti-
 on agreed
 to.

The Absurdities of an alternate Pos-
 session appeared so glaring to every one,
 that those who were for it suffered them-
 selves at last to drop it, and to accede
 to another Treaty, which was to divide
 the Estates into two Halves, the most e-
 qual that could be made, and to cast Lots
 which

which of the two Princes should have the Choice: This last Proposal was universally liked, and the Peace concluded on the following Terms.

That all the Troops that should not be in the Pay of the two Princes, should immediately evacuate the Towns and Fortresses into which they had entred.

That those two Princes should engage to call neither the *Dutch* nor the *Spaniards* afterwards into their Countries.

That all the new Fortifications should be demolished.

That those who had retired or been chased out of the Countries, might return, and should be re-established in their Goods, Charges, and Dignities.

That all Innovations, whither in religious or civil Affairs, should be put on the same Footing they were before the Troubles.

That each Prince should reside in that Division which should fall to him.

That the Partition of the said Countries should be made by Provision in this Manner; to wit, on one Part the Duchy of *Cleves*, the Countries of *Mark* and *Ravensberg*, and the Lordship of *Ravenstein*, with some other Lands and Fiefs lying in *Brabant* and *Flanders*; and

and on the other Part, the Duchies of *Juliers* and *Berg* *

That the two Princes should dispose of alternately, each his Month, all the Posts whither Sacred or Civil, which should become vacant in all the Estates ; and that the Revenue of the whole Succession should likewise be shared betwixt them equally.

That they should promise on the Words of Princes to observe inviolably all these Articles.

The Treaty was signed by the Ambassadors of *Great Britain*, *France*, the Deputies of the *States General*, and the Elector *Palatine*, who obliged themselves in the Name of their Masters to see it accomplished. The Elector of *Brandenburg* and the Duke of *Neuburg* sign'd it also, ratify'd it afterwards, and gave all possible Assurances of observing it.

This Accommodation being thus made, the first Article that was to be put in Execution, was for all the foreign Troops to evacuate the Country forthwith ; as to

*. This provisional Partition was something alter'd, when the two Princes afterwards agreed to make a final one ; for *Cleves*, *March*, and *Ravensberg* fell to *Brandenburg*, and *Juliers*, *Berg* and *Ravensstein* to *Neuburg*. In the full and distinct Enjoyment whereof they have continued to this Day.

the Manner of doing which, *Maurice* and *Spinola* could not agree: The Mediators made many Overtures, but to no Purpose. ('Tis very probable the two Generals disapproved of all Accommodation, and were therefore trying what could be done to hinder its Accomplishment.)

It was now the Month of *December*, and the Ambassadors losing all Patience at the Chicans that were employed to hinder the Execution of the Treaty, declared their Resolution to depart and give all up, when there arrived a Courier from *Madrid* with exprefs Orders not to suffer the *Santen-Treaty* to take Place without the Participation of the King of *Spain*, and that *Wesel* should not be given up. This new Incident effectually suspended all farther Negotiation.

The
Congress
breaks up.

The Ambassadors in very bad Humour, instantly break up and retire to *Holland*, and the other Deputies return to their own Homes. The two Armies take up their Winter Quarters, in the Countries of *Cleves* and *Fuliers*; *Spinola* put a numerous Garrison of 3000 Foot and 300 Horse into *Wesel*, and caused a Fort on the upper Bank of the *Rhine*, to be built, by way of a Citadel to the Place.

Just

Just before the breaking up of the Congress, the Count *de Zollern* arrived at *Santen*; the Emperor had sent him to the Archduke to engage him to agree to no Accommodation that should be made to the Prejudice of the Imperial Authority, and the Rights of the Empire. But the Archduke, far from doing any thing to hinder the Execution of the Treaty, was extremely concerned that it was like to remain without Effect, through the affected Punctilios of the two Generals, and the new Dispatches from the Court of *Spain*. These last gave him a very sensible Concern, and made him resolve to write a long Letter to the King, not so much to justify his own Conduct, as to censure what his Ambassador at *Brussels* had writ to him, and to induce him to ratify the Treaty of *Santen*. There he represents to him, the Jealousy the Courts of *Great Britain*, *France* and the *Hague*, had conceived on his hesitating to deliver *Wesel*, as the *United Provinces* had consented to quit *Fuliers*; that the *Dutch* would infallibly break the Truce with *Spain* on that Score, and that the Town was not of so great Consequence as to begin the War for it only. "We cannot, continues the Archduke, without Breach of public Faith

“ Faith and solemn Promises, refuse to
“ deliver it. 'Tis a great Advantage,
“ when one can in all the Actions of his
“ Life, join the *Useful* to that which is
“ *just*. Let but your Majesty consider
“ the happy Success of our Arms ; *Aix*
“ *la Chapelle* is in the Situation we de-
“ sire, the Fortifications of *Mulheim* are
“ raz'd, the Affairs of *Neuburg* are re-
“ established ; and we have against the
“ whole Heretic Faction of those Parts
“ procured great Advantages to the
“ Cause of the Catholic Religion, al-
“ ways united in Interests with that of
“ the House of *Austria*. Our Business
“ therefore now is to make a good Use
“ of all these happy Events, and that
“ consists in not striving inconsiderably
“ to grasp at more advantageous Ones ;
“ Fortune is inconstant, she abandons us
“ often when we least think of it, and
“ she takes a Pleasure to renverse all the
“ ambitious Projects of Mortals, in the
“ midst of their greatest Prosperities.

This Letter had its desired Effect, the King consented to the Treaty of *Santen*, and the Delivery of *Wesel*, and desired the Archduke to take all imaginable Care, that nothing for the Future should trouble the Tranquillity of the Neighbourhood of *Flanders*.

All this Time *Zollern* was not idle; as his Master had not been called to the making the Treaty, he was doing all he could to prevent the Execution of it; he was underhand practising on *Neuburg*, to engage him to remit all his Interests to the absolute Judgment of the Emperor, and to share the Succession with the Elector of *Saxony*, in order to exclude more effectually the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who had openly declared he would not stand to the Emperor's Decision. The Duke of *Neuburg* shew'd Disposition enough to submit to it, but upon certain Conditions; he would first of all have positive Assurances, that the future Judgment that should be pronounced in his Favour, should be more Advantageous than the Regulation that had been made at *Santen*. On the same Terms, it is not at all to be questioned, but *Brandenburg* would have submitted likewise.

Thus from the different Claims and Views of so many who concern'd themselves in this Affair, things continued in an unsettled Condition for a long Time in the Countries of *Cleves* and *Fuliers*. The *Spanish* Army possess'd one Part, and the *Dutch* the other: *Brandenburg*
and

and *Neuburg*, the two Princes, indeed enjoy'd the Titles and Arms, resided in and governed the Countries : But in all Parts of the World, he who is the most powerful is the true Master, and Princes may learn by this Example, not to call so hastily to their Assistance, Neighbours more powerful than themselves.

Greater Objects began to engage both the Arms and Councils of almost all the Powers of *Europe*, and in particular, those who during the Calms of Peace, had lent their chief Attention to the Affairs of *Juliers*. The Wars of *Bohemia* and of *Religion* broke out, in which, not only the Elector *Palatine*, and after him *Gustavus Adolphus* ; the Emperor and all the Princes of the Empire, but likewise most of the neighbouring Powers, were necessarily engaged either for themselves or for their Allies. Thus in 1619, the *Spaniards* siding with the Emperor, occasion the *States* to assist the Elector *Palatine*, so that they made War upon one another a second Time, in the Name of their Allies ; without breaking the Truce. And as *Juliers* Borders with the *Palatinate*, it was a fresh Over-run with the two Armies. Two Years after Archduke *Albert* died

at *Brussels*, a Prince much beloved of his Subjects, and indeed, of all the neighbouring Powers. Unhappily for these Countries, he died at the very Time of the Expiration of the twelve Years Truce betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch*, when both went to War again. And as *Cleves* and *Juliers* are Frontiers to the *Seven Provinces* and the *Spanish Netherlands*, they were frequently the Seat of the Campaigns. Thus the *Spaniards* took *Juliers* in 1622, and the *Dutch* *Wesel* in 1628, &c. Thus were those Countries possess'd sometimes by the *Dutch*, and sometimes by the *Spaniards*; both giving out, that they only kept them for the rightful Masters, so that all these last had left them to do, was only to renew their Agreement from time to time, and to hope to see Tranquillity once more establish'd in *Europe*; and especially betwixt their two Protectors, or Allies. This long expected Period did not happen till 1678, at the Treaty of *Munster*; but even after that, the *States* and the *Spaniards* still kept Garrison in most of the Places. In 1672, *Lewis XIV* of *France* with 100,000 Men, attack'd the *United Provinces* on the Side of *Cleves*, and took six of their frontier Garrisons in that Country. This obliged

obliged the Elector of *Brandenburg* to a Neutrality with the King, on Condition of having what the *French* had taken in that Dutchy restored to him. The last time that these Countries were overrun, was in 1702; the first Campaign of the last general War, when the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Marshal Boufflers* with an Army of 60,000 Men, attempted to surprize *Nimiguen*; during which, Count *Tilly* lay with his Army at *Santen*, to cover the Siege of *Keiserswaert*, carried on by the Allies. Two Months after, they were in a Manner, covered with Armies, when the Earl, afterwards Duke of *Marlborough*, obliged the *French* to retire on the *Maes*, and retook Fort *St. Michael*, *Stochem*, *Venlo*, *Stevenswart*, *Ruremond*, and *Leige*, in a little time.

Since that time, these Countries have enjoy'd a profound Tranquillity, and remain'd in the Hands of the two Electors of *Brandenburg* and *Palatine*, under the former Agreement; whereby *Cleves*, *Marck*, and *Ravensberg*, were made over to the first, and *Juliers*, *Berg*, and *Ravestein*, to the latter. But the Present Elector *Palatine*, being the last of the Family, has nominated for his Successor the Prince of *Sultzbach*, the near-

est of Kin to him, by a collateral Line of the *Neuburg* Family; which, however, proceeds not from the Lady by whom the *Palatine* Family possesses *Juliers* and *Berg*.

To disappoint as far as possible his Prussian Majesty, who forms Pretensions to these two Duchies; and to procure to the Prince of *Sultzbach*, the entire Dominions now united in the *Palatine* House, his Electoral Highness has omitted nothing that could be done; and his Kinsman being under Age has nam'd for his Administrator, (and perhaps Successor in case he dies before his Majority) Duke *Ferdinand* of *Bavaria*, whose House and that of *Neuburg* are knit together by ties of Blood. It is not therefore strange that the *Bavarian* House should zealously interpose in this Affair.

There has moreover been a sort of a *Remish League* form'd betwixt the Electors *Palatine* and *Bavaria*, and the three Ecclesiastical Electors, to secure the Succession to the *Sultzbach* Prince.

In fine, the Courts of *Vienna*, *Great Britain*, *France*, and the *Hague*, in Quality of Mediators, have drawn up a Plan of Accommodation, by which the Provisional Possession for the Prince of *Sultzbach* of the Duchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*

Berg is establish'd. This has given the greatest Uneasiness to the King of *Prussia*, who in *February* last remonstrated to the mediating Powers; "that he did not comprehend how such a Regulation could be reconciled with the Impartiality of a Mediation, nor under what Shadow of Justice the Right of Possession of those Duchies should be taken from him to whom they justly belong, and be given to a Prince who had not the least right to them. He added, that it was impossible, how great in other Respects his deference for the four concerted Powers may be, to consent to such a Regulation. In agreeing to a Project like this, he should do so much wrong to his Interest, as that no Reservation, Restriction, nor Modification could give him a Satisfactory Equivalent." Next Month the King gave his ultimate Answer to the Ministers of the *States General*, against whom he seem'd greatly incens'd. But the Marquis *de Fenelon*, Ambassador of *France*, answer'd, that this categorical Answer signified little, for the King of *Prussia* must be made to stand to it, and that twenty Thousand *French* Troops join'd to those of the Elector *Palatine*, could secure the Possession of *Juliers* and

G 4

Berg

Berg to *Sultzbach*, against all Opposers whatsoever. But the other Mediating Powers did by no Means approve of this Method; and in particular the *States General* could not endure to think of a War, and a Camp of *French* Troops form'd upon their Frontiers. They therefore having received reiterated Assurances that the King of *Prussia* would not make use of Force in the Affair, except in the last Extremity, but was resolved to determine that Contention by way of Negotiation, declared to the Court of *France*, that they were perfectly satisfied with the pacific Disposition of his *Prussian* Majesty, and that they could not enter into the Measures of his most Christian Majesty, who proposed to them to augment their Garrisons of the Places in the Neighbourhood of the Dutchy of *Cleves*, and County of *Mark*. They at the same time desired his Majesty to desist from his Design of causing a Body of Troops to advance towards the *Lower Rhine*, in order to form a Camp on the Borders of the Countries in Contest, that no subject of Complaint might be given to his *Prussian* Majesty, who would perhaps think that there was some Design on foot of doing him Violence, and might therefore on his Part cause Troops to march

march into that Quarter. Their High Mightinesses added, that when they, at the Instances of his most Christian Majesty, entered into the Negotiation of this Affair, it was with no other view than that of procuring, as far as was in their Power, an amicable Accommodation, by no other Means than that of an impartial Mediation between the contending Parties. They concluded, with saying, that they were not without all Hopes, but his *Prussian* Majesty, as well as the Elector *Palatine*, might be prevail'd on to accept the Plan of Pacification, and that therefore the entering upon Conferences ought to be no longer delay'd, in order to terminate this difficult Affair if possible before the Death of the Elector *Palatine*. — In a subsequent Paper, the *States General* earnestly press the Court of *France* to enter into the pacific Views of their High Mightinesses, and those of the two other Mediating Powers, and forthwith to form a Congress for that Purpose.

This Congress has been importunately desired on the Part of *Great Britain*, and the States, in order to prevent an open War, in which it will be next to impossible for the four great Mediating Powers not to be engaged.

Proceed

Proceed we now to take a View of the Pretensions of the several Claimants, and in particular those of the King of *Prussia*. But to set this in the clearest Light, it will be necessary to premise a brief Account of the *Palatine* and *Sultzbach* Families.



A Succinct MEMOIR of the present Palatine Family of the Line of Neuburg, which is on the Point of being extinct on the Demise of the reigning Elector.

LEWIS the Severe, who died in 1294, was the common Ancestor to the *Palatine* Family that was extinct in 1685, and to that which now subsists in the Person of the reigning Elector. For that Prince left two Sons, *Rodolph* *
the

* This *Rodolph*, the Head of the extinct Line of SIMEREN, married a Daughter of Emperor *Adolph* of *Nassau*. *Rupertus* the Third from him, founded the University of *Heidelberg*, in 1346. *Rupertus* III. was elected Emperor in 1401. His Successor *Ludovic*, married *Blanch*, Daughter to King *Henry VI.* of *England*. In 1559, *Frederick*, Duke of *Simeren*, succeeded to the *Palatinate*. His Son and Successor *Lewis V.* was a learned Prince, and a munificent Benefactor to the just mentioned University. His Son and Successor, *Frederic IV.* married *Louisa Julia*, Daughter of *William*, and Sister of *Maurice*, Princes of *Orange*; he was grievously molested by the House of *Austria* on the Score of Religion, and died in 1610: As was his Son and Successor, *Frederick V.* chosen King of *Bohemia*, married to the Princess *Elizabeth*, Daughter of King *James I.* of *Great Britain*. He was at the Head of the Protestant Interest in the Empire; he was defeated at the Battle of *Prague*, by Emperor *Ferdinand*

the eldest had the Palatinate and the Electoral Dignity, and *Lewis* had *Bavaria*. The Line of this last in time, came to be divided into several collateral Ones, from one of which, viz. *Deux-Ponts*, the Family of *Neuburg* is descended.

Lewis XI. the Third from *Stephen*, the Root of this Branch, is the First of any Note who presents; he married a Daughter of *Hesse*, brought the Reformation into his Dominions, and died in 1532.

His Son *Wolfgang* succeeded to the Country of *Sultzbach*, and died in 1539, and was succeeded by *Philip Lewis*. He

and, who stript him both of his Crown and Hereditary Dominions; the first whereof he took to himself, and the latter he divided betwixt his two Allies in the War, the King of *Spain* and the Elector of *Bavaria*. *Frederic* died at *Mentz*, in 1632. He had Issue Princess *Sophia*, who was Mother of King *George I.* of *Great Britain*, and eleven more Children, one of whom was Prince *Rupert*, so well known in *England*. He was succeeded by his eldest Son, *Charles Lewis*, who by the Treaty of *Westphalia* in 1648, was restored to the *Lower Palatinate* and the Electoral Dignity; but the *Upper Palatinate* remain'd to *Bavaria*. He was a pious and learned Prince: He was so much provok'd at the *French* ravaging his Country in 1673, that he sent *Mareschal de Turenne* a Challenge; which he would not accept, without Allowance from his Master *Lewis XIV.* He died in 1680. and was succeeded by his Son *Charles*, who was a wise Prince, and so moderate, that he built a neat Church, which he called *Concordia*, where the *Calvinists*, the *Lutherans*, and the *Roman Catholics* had, in the Order I have set them down, their Worship by Turns. He died without Issue in 1685, being the last of a Family, which but very little before, was the most numerous of any of that Rank in *Europe*.

married

married *Ann* of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, in virtue whereof he had one half of the Succession annex'd to his Family; he was a zealous Assertor and Friend of the Reformation, and bred his Sons *Wolfgang*, *William*, and *Augustus* in the same way; but the first in order to ingratiate himself with the *Spaniard* and the *Catholick* League, turn'd *Roman*, as has been before taken notice of, and made his first publick Profession of his Change in the City of *Dusseldorp*, in 1614, to the great Grief of his Father, who was yet living at *Neuburg*, and died the same Year, (at the same time the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in Complaisance, as it was said, to his best Ally the *United Provinces*, and to *Frederic V.* Elector *Palatine*, and afterwards King of *Bohemia*, whose Sister he had married, turn'd *Calvinist*.)

This *Wolfgang William*, Grandfather to the present *Elect*or, was born in 1578; he was twice married, first to a Daughter of *Bavaria*, and then of *Deux Ponts*, and died in 1653, after he had carried on a hot Persecution against his People, who refus'd to do as their Sovereign had done, in the Matter of Religion.

His Son *Philip William*, Duke of *Neuburg*, was born in 1615, and succeeded to the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*
in

in 1685, on the Extinction of the last Line, being the nearest Male of Kin to that illustrious Family. He was the first Roman Catholic Prince who succeeded to the Electorate since the *Reformation*, to the great Disadvantage of the Protestants of that Country and all *Germany*, (to counter-balance this Accession of the Popish Branch of the Palatine Family to the Electorate, King *William III.* of *Great Britain*, and the Protestant Princes and States of the Empire, got *Brunswic Lunenburg* erected into another Electorate, in the Person of *Ernest*, Father to King *George I.*) *Philip William* married first a Daughter of *Sigismund III.* King of *Poland*, who died without Issue; then a Daughter of *Hess Darmstadt*, (who turn'd *Roman Catholick* in compliance to her Husband,) by whom he had seventeen Children, four whereof died in their Infancy: The rest were very nobly provided for; his five Daughters having been married to great Princes; the First to Emperor *Leopold*; she died in 1720; the Second to the late King *Charles* of *Spain*; the Third to the late King of *Portugal*; the Fourth to a Son of *Sobiesky III.* King of *Poland*; and the Fifth to the late Duke of *Parma*. His Sons were provided for in the Church;
one

one of them was Elector and Archbishop of *Mentz*; he died in 1732; another was Great Master of the *Teutonic Order*, and Bishop of *Liege*; another Bishop of *Augsburg*, who was the last surviving Brother to the present Elector, but being a Priest he could not have succeeded him, he died in 1737. The Elector of *Mentz* could, but 'twas not probable he would have quit the first Electorate of the Empire, and the great Benefices which he possessed, to become Elector *Palatine*, if he had happen'd to survive his Brother. (Thus this Family which but a few Years ago was one of the most flourishing in the World, is now without an Heir, and its great Dignities and Dominions are to pass into other Hands. — A very moving Instance of the Instability of all human Establishments!

John William, eldest Son to Elector *Philip*, succeeded in 1690; he was twice married, but died without Issue in 1716; he was a magnificent and liberal Prince, and a great Promoter of the Arts and Sciences, as the many noble Buildings, and Collections of the finest Paintings, Statues, &c. he left behind him, do abundantly testify: He was succeeded by his Brother CHARLES PHILIP, the present Elector. He was born in 1661. At
first

first he was an Ecclesiastic, and possess'd of several Benefices, which he quitted, and afterwards took to the Sword, and was a General in the Emperor's Army against the Turks, and Governor of *Tyrol*. On succeeding his Brother in the Electorate he resign'd those Places; he is the last of thirteen Brothers and Sisters, who all arriv'd at Man's Estate, but have quitted the Stage before him, except the Dutches Dowager of *Parma*. To the general Characteristic of the Princes of this House, which is a Love of Pomp and Gallantry, and an extreme Attachment to their Religion, the present Elector has added that of Good Nature; a Quality which discovers itself in every thing he says or does; all whether Strangers or others are sensible and feel the Effects of it, his *Protestant* Subjects only excepted: To these, upon a very slight * Occasion he

* The chief Cause of this otherways generous and good natur'd Prince's severe Treatment of his *Calvinist* Subjects, and his dispersing them over the Face of the Earth, so as great Numbers of them have been made Spectacles to God, Angels, and Men, was this. The great Church of *Heidelberg* by the Treaty of *Westphalia*, belongs half to *Roman Catholics*, and half to the *Reformed*. The Elector, (secretly instigated by the *Jesuits*, who knew well he would meet with a Refusal,) desir'd that both the Choir and the Body of the Church should be yielded to him, in lieu of which he promis'd to build another Church larger, and more commodious for them. They excus'd themselves

he has hitherto remain'd inexorable. The Elector is pretty tall; in his Youth he was look'd upon as the handsomest Prince of the Age, and made his Exercises with the best Grace. He is well seen in the Polite Arts. Much of his leisure Time has been spent on fortifying and beautifying *Manheim*, a Town that was built by *Frederic V.* Elector Palatine, but afterwards raz'd by Treaty: Formerly he was fond of Magnificence and Pleasures, and lov'd to see Strangers at his Court, where they were sure of great Civilities shewn them, according to their Quality; but now Age, a tender Constitution, and above all the Death of his only Daughter, has quite alter'd his Relish. He hath been twice married; First to *Charlotte*, Widow of *Lewis*, Margrave of *Brandenburg*, and

selves from complying therewith, alledging that the Body of that Church was Theirs by the Treaty of *Munster*, and that they could not give it up without violating the said Treaty, which was their Security. The Elector incens'd by this Refusal, took by force what they would not yield to him. Upon which the Injur'd make their Complaints to, and engaged in their Interest, the Kings of *Great Britain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Prussia*, and the *States General*. These Protestant Powers threaten'd to make Reprisals on the *Roman Catholics* in their Dominions. Upon which the Elector was oblig'd to reinstate the *Reformed* in the Nave of the Church, but at the same time he conceiv'd such an Anger against the Inhabitants of *Heidelberg* in particular, that he remov'd his Residence to *Manheim*, and against the whole Body of the *Reformed* throughout his Dominions.

H

Daughter

Daughter of *Radziwil*, a *Polish* Nobleman; she died in 1695; Second to a Daughter of *Lubomirski*, another *Polish* Nobleman; she died in 1712. By the first he had four Children, three whereof died young, and the fourth in 1728, having been married to the Prince of *Sultzbach*, who died the Year following; by his second Wife, the Elector had two Children, but both died in their Infancy.

Of the Family of SULTZBACH.

THE Branch of *Sultzbach* is descended from *Augustus*, second Son of the afore-mention'd *Philip Lewis*. His elder Brother *Wolfgang William*, Duke of *Neuburg*, who had turn'd *Roman Catholic*, as has been said, gave him so much uneasiness because he would not follow his Example, that he was forc'd to leave *Sultzbach*, and to serve in the Armies of *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, whom he accompanied in all his Wars till his Death, which happen'd in 1632. He was succeeded by his Son

Christian, who in Complaisance to his Uncle turn'd *Roman Catholick*, and peaceably enjoy'd the Principality of *Sultzbach*; he died in 1708, and was succeeded by his Son

Theodor,

Theodor, who died in 1732; he had many Children, but we need name no more than these two, *Joseph-Charles*, and *John-Christien*: The First married the Elector *Palatine's* only Daughter, and died before his Father, in 1729, as did his Wife the Year preceding; he had by her six Children, whereof two Males and one Female died in their Infancy; the other three who are Daughters, have their Education at the *Palatine* Court, and make the chief Delight of their Grandfather the Elector; the Eldest was born in 1721, and the Youngest in 1724*.

John-Christien, *Theodor's* other Son died in 1733: He married the Princess of *Tour d'Auvergne*, a *Brabant* Lady, Heiress of *Bergopzoom*, by whom he had one Son, viz.

Charles Philip, Prince *Palatine* of *Sultzbach*, and Marquis of *Bergopzoom*, adopted by the Elector *Palatine* for his universal Heir, both in the Electorate and all his Dominions. He was born in 1724; had his first Education at *Brussels*, where he liv'd with his great Grandmother the Dutchess *d'Aremberg*; but the Elector has lately sent for him to *Manheim*.

* Last Year the King of *Prussia*, on Condition the Duchy of *Berg* be given to him, promised largely to Portion those three Princesses.

HAVING thus brought down the History of *Fuliers*, to the present time, and shewn through whose Hands this Country hath successively pass'd, it only remains that we take a View (in the clearest Light a Subject of this Nature, which is necessarily involv'd in Intricacies is capable of) the Claims of the chief Pretenders to this rich Succession, on the Demise of the Elector *Palatine*. The occasional Remarks which have been made in the Course of this Narrative have already afforded some Light therein. Some of these we must now recapitulate, and add some other important Considerations thereto. We shall begin with the Elector of *Saxony*, whose Pretensions have hitherto had small Regard pay'd to them.

I. The Pretensions of the House of *Saxony*, (if I be not mistaken) are founded on 1. Imperial Grants or Expectatives. 2. An Intermarriage betwixt the Families of *Saxony* and *Cleves*. And 3. A Family Contract. With regard to the first of these, it must be own'd the House of *Saxony* have had many from several Emperors, the most express is that from *Maximilian I.* in 1486; but upon what Consideration

Consideration it was made, does not appear; nor is it necessary we should be very inquisitive about it *. In fact, the Princes of the Empire being as absolute in their Dominions as the Emperor is in his, they suffer no Person upon Earth to dispose of, or promise away any thing that of right belongs to them; besides 'tis well known that the Nature of those *Grants* is such, that on any occasion they are revok'd, and as easily re-establish'd. Nor does it at all advance the Elector's Claim, even suppose his Predecessor had the actual Investiture of the said Countries from the Emperor: These Things being oftentimes Acts of Power and not of Right. There may be Imperial as well as Papal Bulls. They may make an empty Noise, and give a Handle to a powerful Prince to invade the Property of a poor Neighbour, but they intitle to no just or durable Possession, nor can they abide the Test of the supream Tribunals of the Empire. A remarkable Instance of this, we have in the Conduct of *Ferdinand II.* towards *Frederic V.* Elector *Palatine*, chose King of *Bohemia*. The Emperor in return for the great Services the *Spaniard* and the *Ba-*

* One of those Acts of *Expectative* specifies the Occasion of its being granted, *viz.* for Services done the Emperor.

varian did him, in demolishing that unfortunate Prince; notwithstanding the Protestations of the Electors of *Mentz*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg*, invested the Duke of *Bavaria* with the upper Palatinate and the Electoral Dignity, and the *Spaniard* with the Palatinate of the *Rhine*; but the Empire back'd by the Crown of *Sweden* at the Treaty of *Westphalia*, forc'd the Emperor to rescind what had been done, and establish Prince *Charles* in the full Possession of all his deceas'd Father's Dignities and Territories: And it is well known that a great Elector has been long in full possession of two Countries without an Investiture. Such then being the Nature of these Imperial Grants and Expectatives, the House of *Saxony* have done wisely not to lay stress upon them.

2. and 3. The House of *Saxony* pretend a Right to this Succession, because Elector *John-Frederic* married *Sybilla*, Daughter of *John III.* Duke of *Cleves*, *Fuliers*, &c. in 1526. Upon which Occasion it was said to have been agreed upon, that on the failure of Heirs Males of *Cleves*, the Issue of that Marriage should succeed therein. With regard to this Family Contract it may be observed, that it has been matter of doubt whether
there

there was any such ; and whether the *Taillie* was not afterwards cut off by Imperial Authority. — It belongs to the Elector of *Saxony* to produce the Original Contract, * and then *valeat quantum valere potest*. It has been before observ'd, that from the Beginning this House has been excluded from all the Negotiations with regard to the settling the Succession, and from the Conferences which have but lately been held on the same Score, between the Ministers of *Great Britain*, *France*, the *United Provinces*, and the *Emperor*, from which it is natural enough to conclude, that the general Belief of all Times and Princes hath been that the Pretensions of the House of *Saxony* were without Foundation, or else that very great Injustice hath been done to it.

II. The Emperors of *Germany* pretend in general to a Right to all Masculine Fiefs, that is, to all Estates upon failure of Male Heirs ; but there are few Instances of their having been able to render their Pretensions effectual. And in the

* This Contract is actually extant ; but the *Taillie* was afterwards rescinded by Acts of succeeding Emperors, and Investitures of the eventual Succession of *Cleves*, given by the said Emperors to other Families ; against which Acts the House of *Saxony* hath always protested ; and remonstrated that one Emperor could not thus annul *Grants* that had been made by another.

present Case tho' Emperor *Rodolph* made a very vigorous Push to seize upon the Succession, yet was he shamefully baffled by the two principal Pretenders and their Allies. *Leopold*, Archduke of *Austria*, did likewise pretend to this Succession in virtue of an Investiture from the said *Rodolph*, to whom those Countries were said to be escheated, (but that Pretension is quite obsolete.) Upon this Succession's becoming again vacant, as it is on the Matter at present, it would appear that *Charles VI.* the reigning Emperor, has made no Advantage of this (suppos'd) Imperial Right, having only made a faint Essay to have the Countries sequester'd in his Hands *pro tempore*, &c. but the Elector Palatine, and particularly the two great Neighbouring Powers, the King of *France*, and the *United Provinces* have disapprov'd of this Expedient, and charg'd themselves with the chief Part of the Trouble of disposing of them. *Lewis XIV.* (whose Reign was eminently distinguish'd for forming many Pretensions) in 1687 was beginning to enforce the Claim of the Duchess of *Orleans* his Sister-in-Law, to the whole Succession of the Elector Palatine, *Charles Lewis*, who was that Princess's Brother; but the Emperor, *Spain*, the *United Provinces*,
the

the Prince of Orange, and the Electors of *Brandenburg*, *Saxony*, and *Palatine*, concluded that famous League at *Augsburg*, against *that* and all his other high Pretensions*.

III. Before we proceed to consider the the Rights of *Sultzbach* and *Prussia*, (which, as they are the most Important, we reserve to the Last) we cannot omit taking notice of *Those*, which the present Duke of *Holstein Gottorp* might produce on this Occasion; as that Prince is descended, not indeed in a direct, but collateral Line, from *Magdaline*, the third Daughter of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, Spouse to the Duke of *Deux-Ponts*. That House, after the Example of all the Princes and States of the Empire, laid their Complaints before the Congress of *Osna-brug*, in 1648; viz. that *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg* had excluded them *vi armorum*, and without any formality of Justice, from at least a Part of a Succession

* *La Forrest* says, that this famous League was form'd to declare War against the King of *France*, to dethrone King *James* of *Great Britain*, and to put the Prince of Orange on the Throne. There is indeed Ground to believe this; and what is yet more surprising, that Pope *Innocent* XI. who mortally hated *Lewis* XIV. was the chief Promoter, and at the Head of it. — With regard to the *French* King's Pretensions, they had some Colour; for this *Charles Lewis*, who was the last Elector of the Line, died without Issue, leaving an only Sister, who was married to *Philip* of *Orleans*, sole Brother to *Lewis* XIV.

to

to which they had so good a Right. The Congress allow'd that this Complaint was not without Foundation, but yet would not enter on a Discussion of the respective Rights, and only inserted in the *Treaty* at the End of Article IV. *That whereas the Affair of the Succession of Juliers and Cleves may for the future, occasion great Troubles in the Empire among the Parties interested, if they were not prevented; it is therefore agreed upon, that it shall be terminated, without delay, after the Breaking up of the Congress, either by the usual Way of Procedure before his Imperial Majesty, or by an amicable Accommodation, or any other lawful Method*.*

Frederic, the Duke who laid the Complaint before the Congress, dying without Male Heirs; the Right passed to *Frederic Lewis*, his Cousin German, who dying likewise without Male Issue, the

* This Clause was as little executed as many Others of that famous Treaty, the *Lex fundamentalissima* of the Empire, which, considering its Powerful Guarantees, one would think, would have been executed to the least *Jota*. Indeed tho' this Congress labour'd with Success the Pacification not only of the Empire, but of a great Part of *Europe*, yet with regard to *Juliers* there was nothing done, so thorny the Affair seem'd to be, and such extraordinary Movements did the several Pretenders give themselves to exclude one another from any Part of the rich Booty. On all which the Reader may see *Puffendorf de Reb. Gest. Frederici Wilhelmi magni, &c. Lib. III. § 23.*

Rights devolved on *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, of the Branch of *Deux-Ponts Kleeburg*, the Head or Source whereof was *John Casimire*, third Son of *John*, Duke of *Deux-Ponts*, and of *Magdaline* of *Cleves*. From the said King *Charles Gustavus* the Right directly descends to *Charles XI.* King of *Sweden*, and Duke of *Deux-Ponts*; to *Charles XII.* who died without Issue, in 1718; and lastly to that Monarch's eldest Sister *Hedgwick Sophia*, Spouse to *Frederic V.* Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, and Mother to *Charles Frederic*, the present Duke.

N. B. Sibilla, the fourth Daughter of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, who married the Marquis of *Burgaw*, died without Issue.

IV. The *Sultzbach* Family seem to found their Pretensions on these two Things: First, the absolute Right the Elector *Palatine* has to dispose of the Countries in Contest to whom he pleases. — But this the Advocates of the *Sultzbach* Prince had better not mention, as it militates rather against, than for him. For may not the King of *Prussia* here retort, that as the same (pretended) absolute Right must have unquestionably been invested in the present Elector *Palatine's* Father, who in 1666, and again in 1670, made

The Pretensions of the Prince of *Sultzbach*.

made an hereditary Family Treaty, of mutual Succession to the whole Estates of *Cleves* and *Fuliers*, on failure of either of their Male Issue; that solemn Deed and Act therefore cannot be annull'd by any new Disposition of the reigning Elector: It being a certain and necessary Maxim in Law, that the Original or first Deed, *ceteris paribus*, must take place of all posterior Ones.

The young Prince of *Sultzbach* does well in the present Dispute, not to pretend to any Advantage in virtue of his deceas'd Uncle's Marriage to the only Daughter of the Elector *Palatine*, because the Estates of *Fuliers* and *Cleves*, being *Feuda promiscua*, would descend to the said Uncle's Daughters, whereof there are actually three in Life, preferable to all other Pretenders, and so cut him off among the Rest, from all Rights whatsoever. *

The

* As it is evident from the History of these Countries, that in all Times they have been consider'd as *Feuda tam Feminia quam Masculina*, and many Instances are on Record of their devolving on Heirs Female, in default of Heirs Male; 'tis surprising the present Elector should alter the stated Order of Succession, in prejudice of his own Grand-Daughters, and make it pass into another Line. (It is true the *Palatinate*, as all the other Electorates of the Empire, is hereditary to Males only. In default of these, the Estates attach'd to the Electorate and the Dignity

The best Title therefore which this Prince can produce with regard to this Succession, is derived from *Ann*, second Daughter of *Juliers* and *Cleves*; that Princess had two Sons, whereof the Eldest, *Wolfgang-William*, form'd the Line of *Neuburg*, on the Point of being extinct on the Death of the Elector Palatine, and the younger Son, *Augustus*, form'd the Line of *Sultzbach*: From this *Augustus*, *Charles Philip*, the present young Prince, is the *Fifth*, in a direct Line, from Father to Son. It would therefore seem that on the failure of Male Heirs in the elder Branch, *Those* of the younger should take Place.

In virtue of this *Male* Head or Source in the Person of the said *Augustus*, the *Sultzbach* Family claim a Right to not only that half of the *Estates* of the last Duke of *Juliers* and *Cleves* which fell to *Neuburg*, (on the Extinction of the *Neuburg* Line) but also to the *other* half which fell to *Brandenburg*, because the King of *Prussia's* Ancestress, tho' the eldest Daughter of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, left only a Daughter, *viz. Ann*, married to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the great great

nity are transferr'd to the next Branch, and not to the Disposal of the Emperor and Empire, as some Writers have mentioned.)

Grandfather

Grandfather to the present King; whereas the Ancestress of the Prince of *Sultzbach*, tho' only the second Person of the Family of *Cleves* and *Fuliers*, yet had two Sons, the Youngest whereof was great-great Grandfather to the said Prince. From which, both the *Neuburg* and *Sultzbach* Families plead that they are nearer of Kin by one Degree to the last Duke of *Fuliers* and *Cleves*, than the *Prussian*; their two Ancestors having been procreate from the Body of a Daughter of these Countries; whereas the King's Ancestor was Husband only to a Daughter of a Daughter of the said Countries.

2. The Prince of *Sultzbach* holds, that supposing Females as well as Males, (which however he is far from allowing) had a Right to the Succession, *when it should become vacant*, yet does it militate nothing for the King of *Prussia*, because his Ancestress, the eldest Daughter was actually dead, before that Case happen'd; her Brother the last Duke having surviv'd her: And that as the Succession to the said Estates was not open till the Demise of the said Duke, his second Sister, who was alive, was the true and proper Heir, exclusive of the Children of the eldest Sister who was dead. — The Answers of his *Prussian* Majesty to these Points we shall

shall see now that we are come to Consider the Grounds of his Claim to this rich Succession.

V. The King of *Prussia* founds his Right to the Duchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*, and Lordship of *Ravenstein*, on the Failure of Heirs Male in the Elector *Palatine*. The Pretensions of the King of *Prussia*.

1. In virtue of his Maternal Ancestor, the eldest Daughter of *Cleves* and *Juliers*.

2. On the Laws and Customs of these Countries, which allow Females to inherit, in default of Males*. 3. On Imperial Confirmations and Grants. 4. And lastly, on a Family Treaty betwixt the Houses of *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg*, made in 1666, and renewed in 1670, of mutual Succession to the *whole* Dominions of the last Duke of *Cleves*, on the Failure of either of their Male Issue.

1. and 2. That the King of *Prussia's* Ancestress was the eldest of the four Daughters of these Countries has been often in the Course of this Narrative observ'd. And that she in virtue of Pri-

* These *Feuda Promiscua* are very common in *Germany*, as in most other Countries. Thus the Heiress of *Lunenburg Zell* convey'd that Country and other Estates appertaining thereto undivisible, in Marriage to the Elector of *Hanover*, afterwards King *George I.* of *Great Britain*. And the present Emperor's eldest Daughter heirs the *whole* Succession of the Imperial Dominions, exclude of her Sister, who is not to have a Foot of Ground of all those vast Territories.

mogeniture,

mogeniture, and her Heirs Male or Females, were and are the sole Heirs to the *whole Succession*, is now to be proved. And this may be done. 1. From the Laws and Usages of these Countries, as well when they were distinct States, govern'd by Sovereigns of their own; as when they were all United under one Prince. Of this there are many Instances to be met with in the Histories of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, but which, for Brevities sake, we shall not here produce. These Countries were moreover declar'd to be *Indivisible* by the *States*, at the Desire of *William*, in favour of his Son *John William*, the last Duke; and failing of his Heirs, (and he happen'd to have none) in favour of his eldest Daughter *Mary Leonor*, Ancestress to the King of *Prussia*. This Act, which is very material, (and perhaps of itself conclusive, on the Side of his *Prussian* Majesty,) was confirm'd by two Emperors, *Ferdinand I.* and *Charles V.*

The anonymous Author of *Information Sommaire concernant les Droits de la Maison Electorale et Ducale de Saxe, en 4. A Dreisde et a Leipzig, 1733*; says, That those Confirmations of the two Emperors were the result of the tender Affection they had for the Duchess of *Juliers*,

Juliers, who was Daughter to *Ferdinand*, and Niece to *Charles*; and in another Place he says they were obtain'd at the Solicitations, *et ad importunas Preces* of the Duke, contrary to the Will of the Emperor. This able Pen, in more than one Part of his Work, strenuously combats the Validity of this Solemn Act of the Sovereign and States of these Countries, and of the Imperial Confirmations; as Things which seem to overthrow from the very Foundation the Rights of the Electoral House of *Saxony*, derived from the aforementioned *Sybilla* *. — What pinches here, and what seems to be the Quære, is, whether the Legislature or Session of a Country, can, *ceteris paribus*, rescind, what has been enacted by a preceding Session. The Answer to this will be in the Affirmative, provided, first, That the original and the unalienable Rights of Posterity be not given away, and the Constitution

* 'Tis only since the printing off the preceding Sheets, that I saw this scarce Piece in the late Queen's Library, where I could but very cursorily glance it over. However, I do not perceive that there's any thing essential relating to the Pretensions of the Electoral House of Saxony, omitted in the Summary I had already given of them. — The Copy of the original Paper or Contract, the Existence whereof some Writers seem'd to doubt of, but which I had been well inform'd was extant, tho' I could not learn where to find it, is here exhibited at full Length.

be not undermin'd or shaken. In the Case before us, it cannot be said that it essentially affected the State or Posterity, whether the Heirs of *Sybilla* or of *Mary-Eleanor* should succeed in the Government; Provided, secondly, that those Alterations and nulling of preceding Acts, should be done for just Causes. In the Point under Consideration, the Emperor was the last Resort, and supream Judge of the Justice of those Causes. And here the settling the Succession on the Ancestress of the King of *Prussia*, two Emperors (Parents indeed to the Lady) are successively concern'd, and *Summo juri Imperiali* confirm the new Regulation made by the States and Sovereign of the Country.

But if we must suppose some Grains of Partiality in the Case, and the Equity of the Imperial Procedures obscured; his *Prussian* Majesty has still in Reserve, I humbly conceive, a much stronger Foundation to build his Claim upon, than that which has been now propos'd: At least, so far as regards the Claims of the Other Pretenders to this Succession.

The three younger Daughters of the last Duke of these Countries, at the time of their Marriage, solemnly renounc'd to any Part of the Succession, in favour of
the

the eldest Sister and her Heirs;—*contenting and holding themselves well satisfied with the Portions in Money that were given them.* And in case the said eldest Sister should die without Issue, the whole Succession devolv'd on the Second and her Heirs, in Favour whereof the two younger Sisters in like manner renounced all Right whatsoever. And so on with regard to the Third Sister, &c. And this was done in consequence of the Contract of Marriage, which was made betwixt *Mary-Eleonor*, eldest Sister of the last Duke, and *Albert-Frederic* of *Prussia*, some Clauses whereof I shall here produce.

“ It is farther agreed and stipulated,
 “ that if We, *William*, Duke, and *Mary*,
 “ Duchefs, of *Juliers*, *Cleves*, and *Berg*,
 “ should leave after our Decease Male
 “ Heirs, but who afterwards should
 “ leave no Heirs, in this Case our
 “ Duchies, Counties, with all their
 “ Appurtenances, and Dependancies, with-
 “ out excepting any Thing, ought and
 “ shall, in like manner as we, or our
 “ Male Heirs would possess them, de-
 “ volve to our well-beloved eldest
 “ Daughter the Princess *Mary-Eleonor*,
 “ Spouse of Duke *Albert-Frederic* of
 “ *Prussia*, our future Son-in-Law, and
 “ to their Children, in case they have
 I 2 “ any

“ any : And if it so happen, that our
 “ two Sons, *Charles - Frederick*, and
 “ *John - William*, should die without
 “ Issue,” (which actually did happen.)
 “ then the said Duchies, Counties, &c.
 “ remaining indivisible, * shall pass to
 “ our dear Son-in-Law, Duke *Albert*
 “ *Frederick*, and our dear eldest Daugh-
 “ ter *Mary-Eleanor*, and to their Heirs.”

Observe, there is no mention made of Heirs Male, but of Heirs in general. — This Contract, as has been just hinted, was confirm'd by two Emperors, and what perhaps is yet more essential, by the respective States of the Countries here disposed of, and agreed to by Princess *Mary's* three younger Sisters and their Husbands, at the Time of their Marriage.

Under this Head, it will be necessary to specify some Objections against the *Prussian* Rights, which have been made on the Part of *Saxony*, *Neuburg* and *Sultzbach*, and the Answers of the King, made, or which may be made, thereto.

* The *Pacta Unionis*, or Convention betwixt Duke *Adolph* of *Cleves*, &c. and the States of the Country, whereby the Latter promise that they will accept after the Death of Duke *Adolph*, for their Sovereign, his eldest Son ; and in default of him, his eldest Daughter, without suffering any Partition or Dismembring of the Countries, is to be found in *Teschenmaker*, Page 86.

Obj. The King of *Prussia* derives his Right only from a Female; the eldest Daughter of the Countries in Contest, leaving only a Daughter who was married to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, whereas the other Daughters had Male Issue, Ancestors to the Opponents. * — But according to the Laws and Usages of the Countries, Females inherit in default of Males. In all Transactions, Contracts of Marriage, &c. the eventual Succession, like to that just specify'd, has always been reserv'd for Daughters and their Descendants. In fact, all the other Pretenders who appear at this Day upon the Scene, derive their Rights from none other but Daughters.

Obj. *Mary-Eleanor* the eldest Daughter died, before the Succession was open by the Demise of her Brother the last Duke, for which Reason her second Sister, Ancestress to *Neuburg* and *Sultzbach*, who was in Life, was the *apparent* Heir to the whole Succession. — To this it is reply'd, That the express Words of the Contract abovementioned, are to Her and her Heirs. *Ann*, Electress

* *Brevis Deductio juris quod Sereniss. Domini Palatino Neoburgicæ, contra Sereniss. Domum Electoralem Brandenburgicam, in Ditionibus Juliensibus, Clivensibus, & appertinentibus, &c. competit.* To be found in Tom. VIII. of *Recueil d'Actes, Memoires, &c.*

of *Brandenburg*, represented her Mother *Mary*, whose Rights devolv'd upon her. It does farther deserve a special Remark here, that the said *Ann* had actually two Heirs Male, *George-William*, and *Joa-chim-Sigismund*, * in Life, before the Succession was vacant by the Demise of their grand Uncle. So that was it absolutely necessary there should be Heirs Male (which however is not allow'd) here's two who present themselves, and may succeed in Right of their Grand-mother. So that Princess *Mary's* dying before her Brother can in no ways prejudice her Descendants.

Obj. However well establish'd the Succession might be in the Person of the eldest Daughter, through default of Males, yet ought the Right to the said Succession be immediately transfer'd to the first Male Heir of the next Line that should exist. — But those who argue thus seem willingly to shut their Eyes, and to be ignorant of what they do well know, *viz.* That the Right of succeeding, from the whole Tenure of Provincial Acts and Customs, Transactions and Contracts of

* The First of these two Princes, who was Elector, and great Grandfather to the King of *Prussia*, was born in 1595, and the other in 1603. The last Duke of *Cleves* did not die till 1609.

Marriage, Renunciations and Imperial Confirmations, and in a word every other Thing that can render a *Right* valid and sacred; I say, that the said Right of Succeeding, is in Females, and was not only in the Person of the eldest Daughter, but also in her Heirs and Descendants, Male or Female; and that therefore the said Right ought not to be transfer'd out of one Line into another Line, for the Sake of Males. Once a Right is solidly established in a Branch, and always, * that is, so long as any of the said Branch shall subsist. From *Ann*, Spouse to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, there is a direct Line, (and a Male one too) down to *Frederic-William*, the present King of *Prussia*.

Obj. If the Estates of *Juliers* and *Cleves* were *Indivisible*, and the whole Succession devolv'd on the eldest Daughter *Mary*, and her Heirs and Descendants; how came it to pass that those Descendants divided and shar'd the said Estates with the Children of the second Daughter *Ann*? From 1609, the Year in which

* Vid. Grot. de Jure B. & P. Lib. II. c. 7. § 22.

In a little Time there will probably be two Lines form'd from King *George II.* of *Great Britain*, in the Persons of his two Sons the Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *Cumberland*. The Succession will descend and remain in the Line of the First, even tho' that Line should consist of none but Females; and the younger Line or Branch should be wholly made up of Males.

the last Duke of *Juliers* and *Cleves* died, there have been many Agreements and Treaties of Partition made between the Families of *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg*. — To which 'tis answer'd on the Part of his *Prussian* Majesty, that these were only *temporary* Agreements made for the Sake of Peace, in Compassion to the poor Subject, and to hinder the Country to be utterly ruined; as also to give no Advantages to the other Pretenders. That these were the real Motives of the said temporary Treaties is evident from the very Words and whole Drift of them. Besides, in all and every of them, the two Contracting Parties took special Care to *reserve* to themselves their respective Rights to the *whole* Succession, to be render'd effectual as Time and Opportunity should offer. — It may be farther urged here, That as the smallest half of the Succession has fallen to the King of *Prussia* and his Family, tho' in vertue of Marriage with the eldest Daughter, if there was any Innequality, the larger Share should have been given to it: It is hence evident that his Ancestors would never have accepted of such partial Dividends, had they not reserv'd to themselves Rights to the whole Succession, and look'd on those Agreements as merely temporary

temporary and provisional. * That *Neuburg* has the better half of the Estates in Contest, is plain ; for supposing all of them are worth 100: *Juliers* was valued at 38; *Berg* at 18; *Ravenstein*, and the Fiefs in *Brabant* at 4; the Portion of *Neuburg*, and which is still enjoy'd by the Elector *Palatine* ; whereas the Part that fell to *Brandenburg* was only *Cleves*, valued at 20; *Mark* at 14; and *Ravenstein* at 6. So that the Duke of *Neuburg* had three Fifths of the Succession. The Duke was so sensible of his Advantage, that on the King of *Prussia's* Grandfather's insisting on a new Partition, and accusing his Ancestors for having so ill supported their Rights, the Duke I say, only alledged in his Favour, that without counting on his Right to the whole Inheritance, he had acquir'd the Rights of the Marquis of *Burgau*, and the Duke of *Deux-Ponts*, the Descendants of the two younger Daughters of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, so that 'twas but reasonable the

* It is true there was a Treaty dated *Cleves* the 9th of *September*, 1666, made betwixt the Elector of *Brandenburg* and Duke of *Neuburg*. It is call'd, *A definitive Treaty of Partition*, &c. but on close inspection 'twill be found to be nothing but a Treaty *per interim*, like the preceding ones; for the two Contractors do not there absolutely renounce their respective Rights to the whole Succession.

House of *Neuburg* should have something more than *that* of *Brandenburg*.

Obj. On the Part of *Saxony*, with regard to the aforementioned *Privilege of Inheriting* granted by Emperor *Charles V.* to the Daughters of Duke *William*, it has been objected. 1. That the said Privilege was obtained *sub et obreptionis*, seeing it was granted without Knowledge of the Cause, and the House of *Saxony*, which had a preceding Right, was neither consulted, nor heard on the Concession of that Privilege. — But, as has been observ'd, the House of *Brandenburg* needs not, and does not lay the chief stress of its Claim on Imperial Privileges and Investitures. 2. That the Imperial Authority could not confer on a Second, what it had already confer'd on another; but *Charles V.* had given to *John-Frederic* Elector of *Saxony* in 1544, in the Confirmation of his Contract of Marriage, with *Sybilla* eldest Sister of Duke *William*, the whole Succession of *Fuliers* and *Cleves*, in case of Extinction of the Male Line; how then, two Years after, could the Emperor give *the same Right* to another, especially to the Daughter of the said *William*? — The Difficulty that pinches here has been already consider'd, and I presume, obviated.

ated. But with regard to those Imperial Grants, in the Course of this Narrative, the Reader doubtless has all along observed, how little they stand for; and that when any particular Prince has them, he makes some Use of them, but when they are against him, then, they are obtain'd *obreptice*, or the Emperor *could not* grant them. However, the House of *Saxony* ought not to make it their Business to diminish the Value of those Wares, because *an Investiture* granted in 1483, for *Services done to the Emperor*, is the other ground on which they build their Rights to this rich Succession.

Lastly, The *Prussian* Pretensions are strengthened by a Family - Hereditary - Treaty made in 1666, and renewed in 1670, between the Houses of *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg*, of mutual Succession to the whole Dominions of the last Duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, on the Failure of either of their Male Issue.

This Treaty I have not seen, nor have I been able to learn where it is to be found: So that all the Light I have of the Nature of it, is, from the *two Remonstrances* against it, made by the *Family* of *Sultzbach* to the two Contractors, and from the Protestation made to the
Emperor,

Emperor, on the Part of the said Family, dated the 5th of *March*, 1667.

This Hereditary Pact was very agreeable to the *States* of these Countries, whereby they hop'd in Time to be united under one Sovereign, and once more to make some Figure among the other Sovereign States of the Empire. By *Strada in Belg. Lib. 7. C. 10.* it appears that the Dukes of those united Countries were very much consider'd, and on a Rank with the greatest of the Neighbouring Princes. And Mr. *Jeanning* informs us, that on the Death of their last Duke, the States earnestly solicited at the Court of *France*, that the Succession might not be parted, but pass whole and entire into the Hands of one Master. *Negotiations et Lettres de Mons. le Presedent, Jeanning. A Paris. 1656, in Fol.*

To this Treaty, which seems effectually to restrain the Elector *Palatine* from making any new Disposition of these Countries, it may perhaps be reply'd, on the Part of his Electoral Highness, that his Predecessors could not make such a Treaty, and that he has as good a Right to annul it, as they had to make it, and this would be cutting the *Gordian* Knot at once. But the *particular* Reason which has been whisper'd at the *Palatine*

tine Court, why this Family-Agreement or Treaty ought not to take Place, will hardly pass, *viz.* *Because it was made over their Cups.* If this Reason was good, there are few Contracts, it is to be fear'd made, whither in this Country, or in any other, but, what would be liable to a new Discussion. Besides, was this always the Case? this Treaty was renewed in 1670. Those who have started this Objection, ought well to consider of what an ungracious Nature it is, and how displeasing it must needs be for his Electoral Highness to see the Memory of his illustrious Parent, a Prince who was adorn'd with many Virtues, thus sullied in the Eyes of the Universe*.

As this Treaty gave a deadly Blow to the Rights of the Family of *Sultzbach*, they endeavour'd to invalidate it, 1. By the Remonstrances they made against it, to the two Contractors *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg*, and by the Protestation made in form before his Imperial Majesty, immediately after the said Treaty came to their Knowledge. 2. They maintain that the Elector *Palatine* could not dispose of these Countries to their Prejudice;

* See the Character of this Prince, as given by a great Man, who is not suspected for being very lavish in his Praises of any. *Burnet's Travels, Letter the 4th, near the Close.*

as the *Sultzbach* Family are next of kin to the *Palatine*, and on Failure of Male Issue presumptive Heirs thereto, in the *whole* Dominions at present vested in the Elector *Palatine*. 3. The present Elector and his Predecessor his Brother, have *ipso facto*, rescinded the said Treaty, by declaring the *Sultzbach* Line their Heirs, by demanding of his Imperial Majesty the Co-Investiture in all their Dominions, in favour of the Princes of the said Line, and by the present Elector's actually adopting the young Prince of *Sultzbach* for his universal Heir.

Thus have we gone through this knotty Affair, and have omitted nothing we thought material to be known relating to it. The Pretensions of the different Claimants have been handled with all the Plainness and Impartiality we were capable of; tho' we have not affected to conceal our own private Sentiments as to him who seems to us to have the best Right to the Succession; but this has been done in no View or Intention to byass those of the Reader. We cannot but be of the Opinion that the Claim of the King of *Prussia* is best founded, and next to him, that of *Sultzbach*, not so much for his being adopted Heir by the Elector *Palatine*, as for his direct descent
from

T A B. II.

A

G E N E A L O G I C A L T A B L E,

Discovering, at one View, the Grounds of the Pretensions of the several Claimants to the SUCCESSION of JULIERS, BERG, &c.

MARY, Heiress of Juliers, Berg, and Ravensberg; which Countries she convey'd

in Marriage to JOHN III. of Cleves, Marck, and Ravensstein; he died in 1539.

They had Three Daughters and a Son;

The Daughters,

SYBILLA, the eldest, died 1554. She was married to *Frederic the Magnanimous*, Elector of Saxony. (The second was *Anne*, one of the Wives of K. Henry VIII. of England. The youngest was never married.) It deserves a special Remark here, that the present Electoral Family of Saxony is not directly descended from Sybilla, as has been erroneously alledg'd. For *Frederic* her Husband, who was outed of the Electorate by the Emperor, and died in 1547. was of the *Ernestine* Line; whereas the present Elector of Saxony is directly come of *Maurice* of the *Albertine* Line, (or rather of a Brother of his) who was by the Emperor prefer'd to the Electorate in the Room of *Frederic*, and whose Posterity still enjoy it, thus.

Maurice, who fell at the Battle of *Siffredbuse*, in 1553. was succeeded by his Brother *Augustus*, from whom the present Elector of Saxony is the eighth in Descent.

The Son,

WILLIAM, Duke of Juliers, Cleves, &c. married a Daughter of Emperor *Ferdinand*, and Niece of Emperor *Charles V.* from which Emperors he obtained the Privilege of succeeding to Female as to Male Issue.

He had two Sons, and four Daughters: The eldest Son died before him; and the second, JOHN WILLIAM, the last Duke of these Countries, in 1609. without Issue.

The Four Daughters were,

(The Eldest,)

MARY ELEONOR. She died some Months before her Brother. She married *Albert*, Duke of Prussia, (which Family was then distinct from That of Brandenburg.) By whom she had a Daughter, viz.

ANNE, died 1630. Wife of JOHN SIGISMUND, Elector of Brandenburg (to whom she convey'd the Dukedom of Prussia, and her Right to the whole Succession of Juliers and Cleves.) John Sigismund died in 1619. and was succeeded by his Son,

GEORGE WILLIAM, died in 1640. succeeded by his Son,

FREDERIC WILLIAM the Great, died in 1688. and succeeded by his Son,

FREDERIC I. King of Prussia, died in 1713. when he was succeeded by his Son,

FREDERIC WILLIAM, the present King, born in 1688.

(The Second,)

ANNE, died in 1632. Wife of Philip Lewis, Duke of Neuburg. They had two Sons, the eldest, Wolfgang, form'd the Line of Neuburg, and the younger, Augustus, That of Sultzbach, thus,

WOLFGANG WILLIAM, D. of Neuburg, died 1653. succeeded by his Son,

PHILIP WILLIAM, who, on the Extinction of the last Palatine Line in 1685. succeeded to the Electorate, and died in 1690. when he was succeeded by his eldest Son, JOHN, who dying without Issue in 1716. was succeeded by his Brother,

PHILIP CHARLES, the reigning Elector, born in 1661.

AUGUSTUS, Prince of Sultzbach, died in 1632. succeeded by his Son,

CHRISTIAN AUGUSTUS, died in 1708. succeeded by his Son,

THEODOR, died in 1732. His eldest Son, JOSEPH, died in 1729. a Year after his Wife, the Elector Palatine's only Daughter. They had six Children, whereof only three Daughters are living. Theodor's other Son,

JOHN CHRISTIAN, died in 1733. being succeeded by his Son,

CHARLES PHILIP, the present Prince, born in 1724. presumptive Heir to the El. Palatine.

(The Third,)

MAGDALENE, died in 1633. Wife of John, Duke of Deux Ponts, who died in 1624. succeeded by his Son, JOHN CASIMIRE, who died in 1652. without Issue.

GUSTAVUS SAMUEL, D. of Deux Ponts, who died in 1731. likewise without Issue, was the last apparent Heir to Magdalene, being descended from a collateral Line of that Lady. If it may be said that she has any Representative subsisting at this Day, it must be in the Person of the present D. of Holstein, as Grandson to K. Charles XI. of Sweden, D. of Deux Ponts. See Page 105. of this History.

(The Fourth,)

SYBILLA, died in 1628. Wife of the Marquis of Burgaw, who died in 1618. without Issue. This Family must be entirely extinct, not so much as one, of a Collateral Line has appear'd in the Lists, in order to claim a Share of this rich Booty.

THE HOUSE OF SAXONY

Found their Pretensions on, 1. Imperial Investitures. 2. On Contract of Marriage betwixt the abovemention'd Sybilla and the Elector Frederic, whereby they and their Heirs were to succeed to the Estates of Juliers and Cleves, on Failure of Male Heirs in that Family.

THE HOUSE OF BRANDENBURG, OR PRUSSIA,

1. On Imperial Grants, &c. 2. On Marriage with the eldest Daughter of Cleves and Juliers. On the Renunciation of her three Sisters, and their Husbands, in her Favours. On the Contract of Marriage whereby her Heirs Male or Female are entitled to the whole Succession, made and solemnly agreed to, by the Duke her Father, and the States of the Country, and confirm'd by two Emperors. On the Succession's being indivisible, and descendible to Females, &c. and finely on a solemn Treaty made, and renew'd, betwixt the Brandenburg and Neuburg Families of mutual Succession to these Countries on Failure of either of their Male Issue.

THE HOUSE OF NEUBURG AND SULTZBACH

Found their Claims; 1. On Imperial Expectatives, &c. 2. In Right of their Ancestress the second Daughter of Juliers and Cleves, who was the only lawful apparent Heir at the Death of the Duke her Brother, when the Succession was open; her eldest Sister, Ancestress to the King of Prussia, being dead before the Duke. Besides, she left only a Daughter, (but, by the bye, that Daughter had two Sons at the Time of the said Duke's Decease,) whereas their Ancestress had Male Issue.

N. B. The Houses of Lorain, Bouillon, and La Marck, form Pretensions to one or other of the Countries in Contest, but they are so very obsolete, as not to be worth further Notice.



from the second Daughter of *Cleves*, the common Ancestress to the *Palatine* and *Sultzbach* Lines. We cannot, however, conclude this Argument, without again discovering our Surprize, that as the Countries in Contest are *Feuda promiscua*, and the Families of *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg* are in Possession of them, in no other Right but *That* derived from Daughters, I say, we cannot but be at a Loss why the present Elector should exclude his own Grand-Daughters, the eldest whereof, *Mary-Elizabeth*, was born in 1721, from this rich Succession†. It is certain never was a Child more tenderly lov'd by a Parent than the Mother of those young Ladies was by her Father the Elector.

But leaving the *Justice* of the Cause, let us now consider it in a Political Light; the true Light it is to be consider'd in,

† The second, *Mary Ann* was born in 1722; and *Frances* the youngest in 1724. It has been rumour'd as if a Match was intended by the Elector, between *Mary-Elizabeth* and her Cousin German the Prince of *Sultzbach*, born in 1724; by which Justice will be done to both Parties. But perhaps *France* has an Eye on this young Prince, (the future Elector Palatine) for one of her Daughters: To which his Electoral Highness needs not give his Consent but if he pleases. He may be very well assur'd, that that Crown will secure the Succession of *Juli-ers* to the Prince, tho' no such Alliance should be formed.

would

would we form a probable Judgment of the Issue of it.

Tho' the Right to the Succession be apparently in his *Prussian* Majesty, yet has that Prince perhaps committed some Errors which 'tis probable will effectually preclude him from having any Share therein. (However he is by no means to quit his *Pretensions*, for such is the Mutability of all human Things, that Opportunities may offer, to render Them effectual. An Event may happen, and may not even be far off, when the very greatest of his Opposers shall stand in need of his Friendship, and then he will know what Price to put upon it. It is but very lately, as we shall presently hear, that the Crown of *France* would have made this valuable Purchase, at the Expence of one of the Duchies in Contest.)

It is true, ever since his Accession in 1713, he has kept up a great standing Army of seventy Thousand Men, chiefly in the View, as has been thought, to seize on this Succession, the Moment it should become vacant. But this great Military Force has turn'd out quite contrary to his Expectation; for instead of contributing to the Augmentation of his Grandeur, it has render'd him obnoxious
to

to every Power who may be affected thereby. There is not a Prince, whether Catholic or Protestant in the Empire who has not taken umbrage at this numerous Army, and the vast Extent of Territory this mighty Prince is already Master of. The Electorates of *Saxony* and *Brunswick-Lunenbourg*, are bordered on, on two sides by the *Prussian* Dominions: The three Ecclesiastical Electorates are in a yet worse Situation; they are almost surrounded by those Dominions, but would be hemm'd in on every Side, were *Juliers* and *Berg* to fall into the Hands of the King. The Lustre of the House of *Bavaria* is eclipsed, and its Advancement to the Imperial Throne render'd extremely difficult, were the mutability of all human Things to open a Passage to that supream Dignity. Nay it is well known, with what a jealous Eye, the House of *Austria* itself has for a long while look'd upon the Augmentation of Power in the *Prussian* Family.

And as the Countries in Dispute lie in the Neighbourhood of *France* and *the United Provinces*, those two Powers are nearly interested in the Person who shall succeed to them; so that the Issue of this grand Affair does not concern the Empire alone, tho' we may be very sure there is

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not

not a Member thereof, that is not uneasy at the Thoughts of an unequal Distribution of Power amongst them. *All Greatness is comparative; whatever contributes to the Aggrandization of one Power, does necessarily tend to the Diminution of another.*

Instead of keeping up this numerous Army, had his *Prussian* Majesty contented himself with 30,000 Men, It would have had these two Advantages; first, very little Umbrage or Jealousy could have been thereby given to other Princes; and secondly, the vast Sum, (suppose nine or ten Millions of Pounds Sterling, the least it can be put up at) expended on the Maintenance of fifty thousand Men, for the Space of five and twenty Years last past, might have been saved, the half of which Sum now might have prov'd of great Advantage to him in the prosecution of his Right in a legal and peaceable Way.

Another Thing this Prince perhaps has been unfortunate in, and that is, his *Alliances*. As the Incompatability of the Interests of the Houses of *Austria* and *Prussia* is apparent, the first without abandoning its true Interests, can never be suppos'd in the least to favour the other. It has indeed discover'd an extraordinary Address on the Part of the Court of *Vienna*, the keeping that of *Berlin*,
for

for so many Years closely attached to it. And if during the late Misunderstandings between the *Imperial* and *Britannic* Courts, the former had any Influence in widening the Breaches betwixt the Family of *Prussia* and that of *Great Britain*, and hindering those Alliances of Marriage which were offered on one Part, our Wonder will still be encreased. However, as this Prince is a Person of no mean Parts*, we may safely believe he did not suffer himself for so long a Time to be sed with Chimeras. A mystery there was doubtless in it. And what was justly enough said of a *certain Peace*, may perhaps in some measure be apply'd to this Alliance, *that it pass'd all Understanding.*

But if this Prince has cultivated Friendships which have remain'd fruitless, so has he neglected *Those* which would have redounded both to his Honour and Advantage. And, with regard to the present Affair, it may be asked, whether one of the most powerful Mediators would act with somuch Coldness, was the Princess his Daughter, whom he was pleas'd to declare from the Throne, *he so tenderly loved*, to be future Dutchess of *Juliers*

* See *The Present State of Germany*, just published, Vol. I. Pag. 121, 22, &c.

and *Berg*? And whither the People of *Great Britain* would not be desirous that Justice should be done to one of their own Princesses? The bare Influence of *Great Britain*, tho' she did not embroil herself, would have its proper Weight with the other Mediators, and particularly at the Court of *Manheim*, where Things might have been made to take another Turn. — The Dirt which was thrown on King *James I.* and this Nation, for their tamely suffering the Princess Royal and her Husband the Elector *Palatine* to be outed of their Dominions, and shamefully maltreated, tho' a Century ago, is not yet wip'd off. — It does not belong to our Subject to add, That his *Prussian* Majesty's thus standing aloof from all Alliances with *Great Britain*, has quite eclipsed to him and his Posterity, the Prospect of a Crown, far more glorious than That, which a Province of *Poland* has given him to wear.

Another Opportunity let slip, and whereof he might have made good Advantage, was in the late Affair of *Poland*. It was reported, and on good Grounds, That *France* offer'd to put him in Possession of the Duchy of † *Berg*, on Condition

† Last Year, his *Prussian* Majesty declar'd he would be content with this Dutchy and the Lordship of *Ravenstein*,

dition he would send a certain Number of his (idle) Troops to King *Stanislaus*. As this Dutchy lies on the *German Side* of the *Rhine*, at a Distance from *France*; this might have been done without endangering that Kingdom: There was no mention made of *Juliers*, which is more considerable, and almost borders on *France*. Unluckily the King of *Prussia* in deliberating, spent that Time, which would have been much better employ'd in accepting of an offer, the last of the kind, that perhaps will ever be made him. At the same time he balk'd a fair Opportunity, of giving a Check to a formidable neighbouring Power, who in a military manner, was disposing of a Kingdom, in which he was a sovereign Prince; and of ingratiating himself in the Favours of the *Polish* Nation, with whom on several Accounts it is his Interest to keep well, and to oblige.

stein, and renounce for ever, as well for himself as for his Descendents Male or Female, in Favour of the Prince of *Sultzbach*, all Right to the Dutchy of *Juliers*, tho' 'twas of far greater value than that of *Berg*. He moreover offer'd to pay in ready Money to the Elector *Palatine* for the Profit of the *Sultzbach* Prince, two hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, as likewise to each of the three Princesses, Grand Daughters to his Electoral Highness, ten thousand Pounds. And over and above, at the time of their Marriage, six thousand Pounds to each of them. — These Offers however considerable, were not accepted,

I shall take Notice of one thing more, wherein this Prince perhaps took a wrong Step; and which unfortunately happen'd at the very Time the Affair of the *Succession* began to be the Subject of serious Attention. It was on occasion of the Treaty of *Hanover*, between *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Prussia*, concluded the 3d of *September* 1725, and to which the *States General* soon after acceded. But all of a sudden his *Prussian* Majesty broke off, and join'd the Allies of the *Vienna* Treaty concluded in the Month of *May* of the same Year, and engaged to have 20,000 Men, at the Service of the said Allies. This odd Step greatly disgusted three of the four mediating Powers in the Affair of *Fuliers*. But this was not all; it even alarm'd two of them, *France*, but especially the *United Provinces*. But both saw, on this Occasion, the Necessity of finding for the Countries in contest, another Master than a King of *Prussia*. The Dutch, by their Situation, being immediately expos'd to the Forces of the Imperial Garrisons in the *Low Countries* on one Side, and to the Forces of the King of *Prussia* on the other; they desired and even insisted, that the Twelve thousand *Hessians*, or the like Number of Troops *equally*
near

*near them**, in order to make head against the *Prussian* Forces, should be the Quota of *Great Britain*; at the same Time *France* agreed to have as many of their *Swiss* Troops, on the Side of *Flanders*, in case of an Attack from the Emperor.

With regard to the particular *Views* The Views of the Mediating Powers. which the Mediating Powers may have, it may be observ'd in general that they are willing the future Sovereign of these Countries shall owe his Advancement to their good Offices. This however must be suppos'd to be the least of the Motives inducing them to concern themselves in this troublesome Affair. In fact, none of the four great Powers, can stand in need of any Favours or grateful Returns from a Duke of *Juliers* and *Berg*.

The View the Emperor has in interfering in this Affair is two-fold, the First is obvious enough, which is to maintain the Imperial Authority, without which no-

* This was one of the Reasons, why those Troops, and not *British*, were taken into Pay. The *Dutch* were too well acquainted with the Accidents of the Seas, and the Difficulties and Delays which attend the transporting great Bodies of Troops, to depend upon such Helps, they therefore insisted that our *Quota* should be situate on the *Continent*, and that, near their Frontier, judging that if any Attack happen'd at all, from *Prussia*, it would be sudden, and too quick to be withstood by slow Movements.

thing of this Nature should be finally decided in the Empire. The other is perhaps to hinder the Increase of Dominions in the House of *Prussia*; a House, which if it grows in Power for the next fifty Years, in proportion to what it has done for these fifty or sixty Years last past, it will rival it with the Imperial House, and be in a Capacity to break off from the Empire, and establish a State or Dominion altogether independent. In like manner as *Prussia*, which was formerly a Province of *Poland*, but the King's Grandfather got it made independent on that *State*, and his Father had it erected into a Kingdom.

The Motives inducing the *States General* to present themselves on the Scene, in quality of Mediators must be obvious to every one who has run over these Sheets with never so small Attention, or who pleases to cast his Eye upon the Map.

Nor are the Views of the most *Christian King* different from those of the *States*. The whole Succession of *Cleves* and *Fuliers* united in a King of *Prussia*, would form a very considerable *Barrier* against *France*, and the strong Towns this Prince already has in *Cleves* and *Prussian Guelders*, and those he would have in the Countries of *Berg* and *Fuliers*,
might

might in some Measure help to set Bounds to the frequent Incurſions of a mighty Potentate, who hath ſeldom known what Bounds are; and leaſt of all on *this Quarter*, which has in all Times been the moſt expoſ'd and naked of any in the Empire. And if more Territories in the *Netherlands* ſhould be added to *France*, by way of Equivalent for that Crown's ſuffering his Imperial Majeſty to make Conqueſts on the Side of *Turkey**; every Prince in the Empire (and perhaps every Power in *Europe*,) ſhould, on account of the important Situation of the Countries in Conteſt, laying aſide ſmaller Jealouſies, deſire to ſee ſome Puſſant Prince Owner of them.

Tho' *Great Britain* is not directly concern'd in the Iſſue of this Affair, yet

* It is certain, however, ſo ſoon as the *Turks* ſhall give Satisfaction for the Wrongs done on their Part, that the Emperor will readily agree to a Peace. An Event which cannot but be greatly deſired by the *Princes*, who have reaſon to fear, leaſt the War and Conqueſts on the Side of *Turkey* ſhould ſo far engroſs the Emperor as to draw his Imperial and Paternal Care off the Empire, and ſo leave it expoſ'd to the Attacks of powerful Neighbours. An Event likewiſe much deſired by the *Engliſh*, who are juſtly apprehenſive of their valuable *Turkey* and *Levant* Trade's being render'd precarious, if not loſt. Beſides, it would occaſion much trouble and Expence to this Nation, to be neceſſitated to ſend Fleets to recover ſuch Countries as ſhould happen to be conquer'd in the Courſe of the War.

is it very necessary she should interfere therein, were it only to prevent a certain Great Power's taking Advantages. It may be doubted whether the *States General* and the Emperor too would have Weight enough to bring this Critical Affair to an amicable Conclusion, without the Interposition of a *Third*. The Subject is very capable of Embroilments, and may be productive of extraordinary unforeseen Events. It has therefore been the Business of *Great Britain*, and of her Councils, so far as human Prudence, and the Influence of *One*, among so many *Interested Powers*, will go, to provide against those *possible* Events. And indeed did not *Europe* with Pleasure behold a wise and moderate Minister at this Day at the Helm in *France*; from the present Conjunction, and from certain Alliances hitherto unknown and unaccountable, *She* would have Reason to keep her Eye fix'd on the Progress of this Affair, and bend her *United* Interest to procure an amicable Issue of it.

*A GEOGRAPHICAL and POLITICAL
Account of the Duchies of JULIERS
and BERG, and the Lordship of
RAVENSTEIN.*

THESE Countries, together with the other Part of the Estates of the last Duke, *viz. Cleves and Mark*, are comprehended in *Westphalia*, of which Circle they are by far the most fruitful and rich Part. Their Latitude is from 50 and 15, to almost 52: So that they have the same Latitude with the most Southerly Counties of *England*, and the middle Parts of the *Low Countries* and of *Germany*. They lie almost Contiguous, being only separate by a very narrow Tract of the Electorate of *Cologne*. The *Rhine* runs through the Middle of them. See the Map.

The

The Duchy of JULIERS.

IT is near 60 Miles long, and 30 broad. It has *Dutch Brabant*, that Part of the *Netherlands* which belong to the Emperor, and the Country of *Liege* on the West, *Prussian Guelders* and *Cleves* on the North, the Electorate or Archbishoprick of *Cologne*, and the *Rhine* which separates it from the Duchy of *Berg*, on the East, and the Archbishoprick of *Treves* and the *Moselle*, which separates it from the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine* and *Lorain*, on the South.

As it touches in one Part on the *Maese*, and in another, on the *Rhine*, it has a pretty good Inland Trade. It is a rich Champaign Country. The Soil is a good Clay, so that this is one of the most fruitful Countries in *Germany*: It abounds with good Inclosures, and furnish'd with Orchards, Pasture Grounds, Corn Fields and Hop-Grounds. It yields rich Crops of Barley, but particularly of Rye, and Wheat which produces the finest Flour. The few Hills that are here, are in many Places, plow'd and sown, and there are Orchards and Pasture Grounds upon them,

them, to serve the Villages, which are thick set upon them. The Wood *Stein-trasse*, about three Miles from *Juliers* on the Road to *Cologne*, and a few more Woods, have a good Coat of Green, which afford Pasture for large Flocks of Sheep of a good Size. The tall Wood is chiefly Oak and Beach, and the Underwood Alder. This Country is particularly noted for a good Breed of Horses, for which there is great Sale in *France*, and the Neighbouring Countries; and for Plenty of Woad, which is also transported into other Countries for the Use of Dyers. The Staple Manufacture of the Inhabitants is Linnen, well known among us by the Name of *Gullick Linnen*, (*Juliers* both in high and low *Dutch* being called *Gullick*) but much of this Commodity is made in *Liege*, *Limburg*, and other Neighbouring Places. The Rivers are stock'd with Fish, and the Woods with all sorts of Musical Birds, which make them more than ordinary pleasant: but there is not so great plenty of Wild Fowl and Venison, as in those Countries which are less cultivated. The Roads here are bad, by reason of the clayey Soil. For the same Reason, they have no Vines growing here; but their Beer is good; and the valuable Commodities of Corn, Horses, Linen, &c. which they

they export, bring in good Wines from the neighbouring Countries, particularly the excellent *Rhenish* of the *Palatinate*, upon which Country they border.

The Country is well peopled, being full of Towns and Villages. *Juliers*, the Capital of the Dutchy, lies in the Centre of several good Cities, as *Liege*, *Mastricht*, *Ruremond*, *Cologne*, and *Aix-la Chapelle*. It lies on the Road, and almost at an equal Distance between *Cologne* and *Aix*, so as to divide the Day's Journey into two equal Parts. It stands on the little River *Roer*. It is not large; the Houses are of Brick, and the Streets are streight and regular, so that one sees the Wall at one or both ends of them. The Ducal Palace, in a spacious Piazza, in the Citadel, is much fallen to decay. In the last Century, the Citadel was reckon'd one of the strongest in *Germany*, it was the Work of the ablest Engineers, and 30 Years in building: It has however often been taken and retaken in the Course of long Wars, from which Calamities these Parts have hardly ever been free. The present Elector keeps a good Garrison here. But neither it nor the Town, the Fortifications whereof are none of the best, would be able to hold out against a Siege, tho' the present Elector

tor has been repairing the Works. There is one great Church here, which is Collegiate, and several others which belong to the *Religious Orders*. In the Suburbs there is a Monastery of *Carthusians*, richly endow'd by several Dukes of *Juliers*. The *Roman Catholic* is the only Religion exercis'd in the City, but the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* have their Chapel upon the *Glacis* of the Place.

Duren, on the same River, is the second Town of the Duchy, 10 Miles from *Juliers*. Formerly it was a Place of great Strength, and particularly memorable for the long Siege which it held against Emperor *Charles V.* in his Wars against *William*, Duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, for the Dukedom of *Guelders*. The Streets are uniform, and water'd by Streams in the Middle. In *St. Martin's* Church, their fairest Structure, they pretend to have the Head of *St. Ann*, Mother to the *Blessed Virgin*, which formerly brought a great Concourse of Pilgrims thither. The Fortifications of this Place have been much neglected.

Berghem, on the little River *Erffe*, about 8 Miles from *Juliers*, on the Road to *Cologne*; it is a small wall'd Town, where there is a Synagogue of the *Jews*. At some distance on the same River stands
Castor,

Castor, so called from a stately *Castle* built for the Defence of this Part of the Country. *Merodon*, *Enskerk*, and *Berklen*, are Places of some Account. The rich Abbey of *St. Cornelius Munster*, which lies a few Miles from *Aix*, on the little River *Dense*, is famous in these Parts. *Altenhoven* is a little wall'd Town, it lies on the Road betwixt *Aix* and *Fuliers*. *Kempen* on the *Erpe*, a good Town and Castle on the Borders of *Guel-ders*, *Fuliers*, and *Cologne*; to which last Country it now belongs. *Sittard*, *Tud-der*, and *Susteren*, are three little Towns, formerly fortified, but now dismantled, as most of the Places of these Parts are. *Arensberg*; it gives Title to the Duke of that Name, to whom it belongs: He is at present Generalissimo of the Imperial Troops in the *Austrian Netherlands*, and Governor of the Province of *Hainault*, and its Capital *Mons*. *Aix la Chappelle*, lies in this Country, and is under Protection of the Duke; but being Imperial, we shall not describe it here.

The Dutchy of BERG, Bergh,
or Bergue.

THIS Duchy has the Countries of *Cleves* and *Marck*, which belong to the King of *Prussia*, on the North and East, the *Rhine* and the Bishoprick of *Cologne*, on the West and South. Its near 50 Miles long on the Banks of the *Rhine*, and 20 where broadest. It derives its Name from the Hills with which it abounds, *Berg*, in Dutch Signifying a Hill. In Latin 'tis call'd *Montensis* (*Ducatus*) and in French *Mons*. The Country however for the most Part, and especially near the *Rhine*, and in the Vales, yields great Store of the best Wheat, which makes the purest Bread; there are rich Pastures on the Banks of the *Rhine*, and the Hills are cover'd with numerous Flocks of Sheep, and do likewise contain many Mines of Coal, with which they supply their Neighbours. Besides, the River of the *Rhine*, which brings both Trade and Pleasure to it; it is like-

L wise

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L wise

wife watered with the *Wipper*, *Agger*, and *Sieg*.

Dusseldorp, so called from *Dussel*, a Rivulet that runs through it, and here falls into the *Rhine*. The Addition of *Dorp*, which signifies a Village, intimates that it was at first but such. It is the Capital of the Duchy; it stands in the midst of a very fine fruitful Plain, 24 Miles from *Cologne*, and 18 from *Juliers*. It is pretty large, and was the usual Seat of the Dukes of *Juliers* and *Berg*; the late Elector Palatine, *John-William*, who resided in it, had undertaken to aggrandize it with an additional Quarter, which they call the *New-Town*, but that Prince's Death in 1716, and the Absence of the Court, (the present Elector having at first resided in *Heidelberg*, and thence removed to *Manheim* where he now is) put a stop to the Buildings. The *Rhine* washes its Walls, and runs at the Town with such Violence, that they have been oblig'd to make great Works to break the Current. In the Market-Place opposite to the Palace, is Elector *John-William's* Equestrian Statue, who is represented in Armour on Horse-back, with the Electoral Bonnet on his Head. The Monument is erected on a Pedestal of grey Marble, very solid

solid, but without any Inscription or Ornaments. Nevertheless that Prince, whose Character has been before given, deserv'd to have his Virtues transmitted to Posterity by many Inscriptions. The *Jesuits* have here a fine Colledge and a noble Chapel. All Religions are tollerated here, and every Communion has its particular Churches, but the *Roman Catholics* only are admitted to Civil Employments. There's a Chapel without the *Cologn* Gate, which is remarkable. 'Tis built after the Model of the *Sancta Casa* of *Loretto*, and adorn'd with very fine Paintings. 'Twas founded by the Electress, Wife of *John-William*, to the Honour of the Blessed Virgin. In the Collegiate Church there are many Monuments of the ancient Dukes of *Juliers* and *Berg*; but the most stately is that of Duke *William* the last of the Family. They had formerly a small University, which the *Jesuits* have endeavour'd to restore, but without Effect; they have turn'd it to a good Seminary for poor Scholars. The Public Buildings towards the *Rhine* make a good Appearance, particularly the Castle or Palace which is a large but not a fine Structure. However it commands charming Prospects on this

noble River. The most remarkable Thing to be seen in it is the Gallery of Pictures, which is divided into five great Divisions or Salons. The Pictures in the first Room are all by the Hand of *Rubans*. That of the *Last Day of Judgment* is an admirable Piece, and one of the best that was ever done by that excellent Painter. They say that he painted it for the Duke *Wolfgang* of *Neuburg*, in Acknowledgment for that Prince's having taken him out of *Spain*, where *Rubans* was going to be arrested by the *Holy Office*. The Pictures in the second Room are all done by several *Flemish* Masters, but most of them by *Van Dyck*. The third Room contains Pictures by the most skilful *Italian* Masters. The fourth is adorn'd with the Works of the Chevalier *Vander Werf*, a Dutch Painter, who died lately at the *Hague*, having had the Honour to see some of his Pictures sold for a Thousand Gold Ducats the Piece. The Elector *John-William*, gave him a Pension of six Hundred Pounds sterling, besides paying him two hundred Pounds for each Picture. No *Flemish* Artist excelled him in Designing, or had a better hand at mixing of Colours. His Painting is so fine, and the Colouring so lively, and so well fancy'd, that

that no Enamel is more beautiful. Among his Works, Knowing Persons admire *the Life and Passion of our Saviour*; *Diana in the Bath*, a Piece for which the Elector *John-William* paid two thousand Pounds; and the Picture of *Mary-Ann of Medicis*, that Elector's Wife, which Princess is represented with her Court-Ladies in the Habit of the Vestal Virgins. The fifth and last Room, which is the most magnificent, contains select Pieces by Masters of the first Rank, as *Raphael, Julius Romain, Peter di Cortona, Guido, Titian, Paul Veronese, Tintoret, Corregio, Albano, the Caracchis, Joseph Pin, Reimbrantz*, and many others. But that which no less attracts the Curious in another Taste, is the Abundance and Variety of other Things that are distributed up and down the several Rooms; as Figures of Brasses, of the utmost Perfection, copy'd for most Part from the finest Antiques, placed upon beautiful Tables of *Florence*; portable Cabinets, adorned with excellent Miniature, or inlaid Work; and in short, an infinite Number of other Things that are very much to be admired, and render this Gallery truly magnificent. Under these Rooms there's another Gallery full of Statues of Marble and Plaister,

according to the Model of all the celebrated Statues of *Rome* and *Florence*, the Moulds of which were collected by the Elector *John-William*, with very great Care and Expence.

This great Prince lived at a Time when *Germany* had four other Princes, who were as great Patrons of the Arts and Sciences as himself, viz. the two late Kings of *Prussia* and *Poland*, *Anthony-Ulric*, Duke of *Brunswick Wolfenbuttle*, and *Charles*, Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*; they have all left the Stage, having no Life but in History, where they are sure of Immortality; for besides the Monuments they have left of their Grandeur, Men of Learning will not fail to transmit their Glory to the latest Posterity.

Formerly *Dusseldorp* had good Fortifications, and the present Elector has but very lately been endeavouring to repair them. But the strongest Place of these Parts was *Keiserswert*, six Miles beneath *Dusseldorp*, which held out a long Siege against the Confederates in 1702, commanded by the afore-named *John-William*, Elector *Palatine*: It is now wholly dismantled.

Not far from *Dusseldorp* stands *Gerisheim*, a noble Village, comparable to several

several Cities. *Essen*, by some Geographers plac'd in this Country; 'tis a considerable Town, the Inhabitants are noted for making good Fire Arms, and the adjacent Country abounds with Coal and Wheat. 'Tis most famous, however, for a noble and rich Nunnery, founded in the ninth Century: The one half of the Town, and several large neighbouring Mannors belong to it. They admit none but the Daughters of Noblemen, who are permitted to marry at Pleasure. *Angermund*, on the Mouth of the River *Angra*, as the Name imports; *Mond*, in German, signifying Mouth. *Solingen*, a Town on the *Wipper*, noted for making good Cutlers Ware. *Stelt*, on the *Roer*, amongst the Coal Mines. *Dormagen*, and several other Villages on the other Side the *Rhine*, do likewise belong to the Duchy of *Berg*. *Mulheim*, almost overagainst *Cologne*, whither the *Lutheran* Inhabitants of this Imperial City go, to their Place of Worship. *Bensberg*, a fine Country Palace, about three Leagues from the *Rhine*: It was built by Elector *John William*, who sent for the most able Workmen from *Italy* to build it. All this great

Structure is built of a very hard Stone. The Ornaments, such as the Frises and Architraves, are of a kind of grey Marble, which they dig out of neighbouring Quarries. The Apartments are large, very well decorated, and adorned with the finest Paintings; and they have a Prospect of a vast Length of Country, which offers a variety of grand and noble Scenes to View.

The Lordship of RAVENSTEIN,

IS about fifteen Miles in length, and eight in breadth. It lies in *Dutch Brabant*; however small it be, yet would the *States General* purchase it at a high Price, they being unwilling that any foreign Prince should have any Territory in their Dominions. *Ravenstein*, the Capital, is a good Town, and enjoys a considerable Trade on the *Maes*, where it is situate about three Miles beneath *Grave*, and eight from the Borders of *Cleves*. *Uden*, is the second Place of this Districh, being chiefly inhabited by wealthy

thy Farmers, there are fourteen other good Villages here. The King of *Prussia* has offer'd to give up this little Sovereignty to the *Dutch*, on Condition that they should help him to one or both of the other Countries in Contest; but it would seem that they did not approve of the Alternative.

The Political State of JULIERS
and BERG.

WITH regard to the *Political State of Juliers and Berg*, we have only to observe that they are pretty free, being govern'd by *States* of their own, which meet every Year: without their Consent the Prince cannot lay on any Taxes.

These two Duchies bring in near two hundred thousand Pounds to the Elector, which Sum being added to *That* which he raises in the Principality of *Neuburg*, and in the *Palatinate*, where he is absolute, makes his Revenue amount to above three hundred thousand Pounds a Year. With this he is enabled to keep a splendid Court, rich Liveries, well mounted Guards, and six or seven thousand Men on Foot in Time of Peace.

Their
Revenues.

All

All the three Religions, Roman Catholic, Calvinist, and Lutheran, that are permitted in the Empire, are tollerated here, by Treaty with the House of *Brandenburg*; on Condition, the said House do the same in the Countries of *Cleves*, and *Marck*, for which Reason every time the Princes of *Neuburg* take it into their Heads to molest their Protestant Subjects; *Those* of *Brandenburg* immediately make Reprizals on their Catholic ones.

It does not belong to our Subject to describe the other Part of the *Succession* of the last Sovereign of these Countries, viz. *Cleves*, *Marck* and *Ravensberg*, which are possess'd by the King of *Prussia*. — We shall only subjoin that the Duchy of *Cleves* is above forty Miles long, and near twenty broad. It lies sweetly on both Sides the *Rhine*, and Borders with *Guelderland*, one of the *Dutch* Provinces. It is a delicious Country, and abounds with every thing that is good. It contains *Cleves*, the Capital, famous for its Antiquities, Pleasantness, and fine Air. The other good Towns are *Emmerick*, *Rees*, *Calcar*, *Goch*, *Cranenburg*, *Santen*, *Duisburg*, where there is an University, and *Wesel*; this last, which is
the

the second Place of the Duchy was formerly populous, rich and trading; now it is full of Soldiers. Its Fortifications, and those of the Citadel, are but lately finish'd, they have been the Work of many Years, so that *Wesel* is now one of the strongest Cities in *Europe*; the *Arsenal* is also very well provided.

[Adjoining to this Duchy lies *Prussian* (formerly *Spanish*) *Guelders*, about thirty Miles in Length, and fifteen in Breadth along the *Maese*; a rich Country, containing those trading and strong Towns of *Guelders*, *Venlo* and *Roermond*: The first of these in particular, has been made prodigious strong by the King. This Country was given him at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, thro' the Interest of the Crown of *France*, on Condition of his Majesty at the same time, giving up all Pretensions to the Principality of *Orange*, in Favour of the said Crown, and engaging to satisfy the Prince of *Dietz*, which has accordingly been done by the *Treaty of Partition*, dated *Dieren*, *June* the 4th, 1732, betwixt the King of *Prussia* and the Prince of *Orange*.]

2. The County of *Marck* is very large, being about forty Miles long, and as many broad, but it is not so good a Country

try as the Other. It contains these Towns, *Ham, Unna, Altena*, and *Werden*; *Soest* and *Dortmund* have the Title of Imperial Cities, but the King of *Prussia* disputes this with them.

3. The County of *Ravensberg*, of which only one Part of it is represented on the Map, for want of Room. It is about twenty Miles long, and twelve broad. It is somewhat rocky and hilly; but in other respects a fruitful Country; it contains these good Towns, *Ravensberg* on a Hill. *Bielfeld*, which has a considerable Manufacture in Linnen; it is a large Town, the strong Castle of *Sparenberg* stands without the Town. *Lipstadt*, a large, and once a free City, but now Subject to the King of *Prussia*, by whom it has been well fortify'd. It is pester'd with Soldiers, as most are in the *Prussian* Dominions. Their Pay in general is about two Pence a Day, and a Pound of Bread. Out of this mean Allowance they are oblig'd to keep themselves clean and neat. It is true this Sum in the *Empire*, as in most other Countries, goes as far as Four-pence or Five-pence does in *England*. *Vlo-towe*, on the *Wefer*, is another good Town here, conveniently seated for Trade; the River being capable of large Ships. *Her-forden*,

forden, or *Herwerde*; it has likewise a good Manufacture of Linnen: It is a large Town, but is chiefly noted for a famous *Lutheran* Nunnery, the Abbess of which is a Princess of the Empire, and represented in the *Diet* by her Deputy. The Estates belonging to this sacred Foundation are considerable, the Revenue amounting to three thousand Pounds a Year and upwards. There is another Nunnery, without the Town on a Hill, where the Daughters of the Gentry of the Country are educated, so that it serves the other for a Nurfery; it is govern'd by a Diaconess, but is subservient to the Abbess of *Herforden*. There are several such Protestant Nunneries raised on the ancient Foundations in *Germany*. They take on neither Vows, nor Habit, and are tied down to very few Rules. The Abbess and her Nuns may leave the Nunnery and marry: They frequently make Visits and receive them, at particular Times: There's no unreasonable Restraints; in a Word, those sacred Houses or Retirements are of that sort, which wise Men have thought ought still to have been kept up in the *Reformed* World.

The



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